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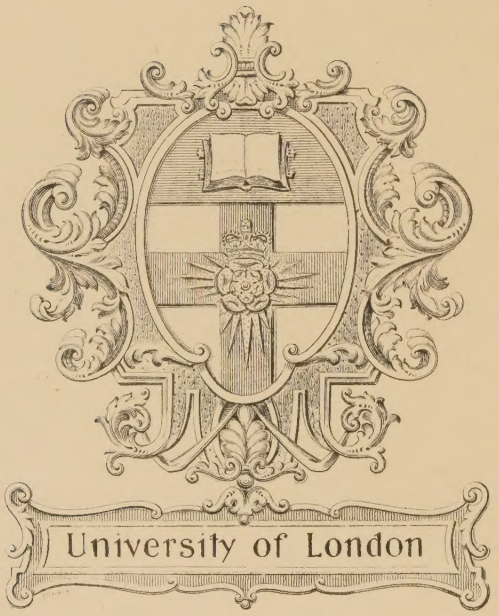

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MINOS AND DAIDALOS IN SICILY *

My subject in this paper is the familiar one of the impact of civilised on uncivilised in the widest extension of Minoan and Mycenaean civilisation.[1] In dealing with the earliest relations between the Aegean and Italy, I do not propose to discuss the parallels which have been drawn between the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery of the two sides of the Adriatic.[2] The unquestioned likenesses may be due to sharing a common heritage, and do not prove direct contact between the two areas.[3]

Probably as early as the Middle Minoan I period, at the end of the third millennium, Minoan navigators occasionally reached Sicily.[4] The earliest Cretan objects in the West are sporadic, and may have passed from hand to hand.[5] But from the close of the Early Minoan period liparite is found regularly in Crete, and it is natural to suppose that the Cretans went to the Lipari Islands to get it.[6] It is suggested also that tin, which from the same period was increasingly used in alloying copper, was brought from the Western Mediterranean.[7] On the other side, there are many Siculan II swords and daggers which imitate L.M.I. types.[8] Most of these cannot be so old as their prototypes. Though there are no weapons in Sicily which are certainly Minoan, it is clear that Minoan swords must have been imported, and served as models for a Siculan type which had a long currency.[9]

Most of the pottery imported to the West from the Aegean is poor, lifeless stuff.

* The following abbreviations are used:
A.J.A. American Journal of Archaeology.
Ann. R. Sc. It. Annuario d. r. scuola di Atene.
B.S.A. Annual of the British School at Athens.
C.A.H. Cambridge Ancient History.
J.H.S. Journal of Hellenic Studies.
J.R.S. Journal of Roman Studies.
P.M. Evans, *Palace of Minos at Knossos.*
R.E. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie.*

[1] P. Orsi, *Ausonia* i, 5 ff.; *Atti del Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche* v, 1904, 97 ff.; T. E. Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, 466 ff.; A. W. Byvanck, *de Magnae Graeciae historia antiquissima* 7 ff.; A. Evans, *P.M.* i, 20 ff.; ii, 169 ff.; iv, 959 ff.; J. P. Harland, *A.J.A.* 1929, 106–7; B. Pace, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica* i 146 ff.; D. Levi in *Paolo Orsi*, 93 ff.; P. E. Arias, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1936–7, 57 ff.; J. Bérard, *La Colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile*, 508 ff.

[2] Cf. M. N. Valmin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition*, 238 ff.

[3] Peet, *op. cit.* 85 ff., 217 ff., suggests import from Greece to Italy to account for the affinities of the painted pottery of Molfetta and Matera with Thessalian neolithic; M. Mayer, *Molfetta und Matera* 120–1, 146 ff., 201 ff., 208 ff., suggests E.M.III parallels. For Sicily cf. Orsi, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1892, 24, 82; 1930–1, 209–10; C. Schuchhardt, *Sitzungsberichte Berlin* 1913, 745. For contacts between the Aegean and Sicily in the Early Bronze Age see C. F. C. Hawkes, *The Prehistoric Foundations of Europe*, 151 ff.

[4] And Malta: *P.M.* ii, 190; Evans dates the earliest Cretan influence *c.* 2100 B.C. Hawkes, *loc. cit.*, relates this Aegean expansion to the Early Minoan period (*c.* 2500), and finds no trace of western traffic from Crete in the M.M. period.

[5] Triangular dagger at Perugia, regarded as an E.M.III import, F. Messerschmidt, *Arch. Anz.* 1938, 642; others at Remedello and Rinaldone quoted *ibid.*; copper dagger of E.M.III form at Monte Bradoni near Volterra, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1899, 301–2, pl. IV, 3; *P.M.* ii, 169. Bone handles, M.M.I, in Siculan I cemeteries, Castelluccio, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1892, 7–8; *P.M.* i, 21, fig. 3; Grotta Lazzaro, *Ausonia* i, 6, fig. 1; S. Croce, Camiso, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1926, 13, fig. 4; Pace, *op. cit.* 146, fig. 71.

[6] *P.M.* i, 23; ii, 169.

[7] *P.M.* i, 23; ii, 176.

For Minoan contacts with Spain cf. *P.M.* i, 22; 492 ff.; P. Paris, *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive* i, 156 ff., pl. vi; ii, 282–3; A. Schulten, *Tartessos*, 10; D. Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, 121; Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* 744, 748 (who is doubtful). Mycenaean vase found in Spain, formerly at Saragossa, Perrot-Chipiez vi, 940.

[8] Plemmyrion: *Bull. Pal. It.* 1891, pl. xi, 4, 8, 10, 16. Thapsos: *Mon. Ant.* vi, 121, fig. 131 (from the same grave as the oinochoe, *ibid.*, pl. 5, 4). Cozzo Pantano: *Mon. Ant.* ii, pl. ii, 5 and 13. Caltagirone: *Not. Scav.* 1904, 70, fig. 3. Mazzarino: *Not. Scav.* 1904, 70, n. 2 (lost). Caldare: *Bull. Pal. It.* 1897, pl. ii, 1 and 2.

[9] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, 108; Naue, *Die vorrömischen Schwerter*, 8–9.

It has often been studied and illustrated:[10] but I repeat a list of vases, with a few parallels:

SICILY.

Thapsos: amphora, *Mon. Ant.* vi, pl. iv, 3; for decoration cf. *B.M. Cat.* i, A 1026.
pyxis, *ibid.* fig. 4. cf. Ialysos, B.M. A 820, pl. 10; Lelos, *Ann. R. Sc. It.* vi–vii 249, fig. 153, middle row, second from right.
(These two in a grave which also contained an amphora and a jug.)
pyxis, *ibid.* p. 103.
fragment of three-handled amphora, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1936–7, 59, no. 20.
three-handled amphora, *Mon. Ant.* vi, pl. iv, 12; cf. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae* pl. 44, grave 519, 2.
three-handled amphora *ibid.* pl. iv, 8; cf. *Chamber Tombs* pl. 48, grave 527, 12.
oinochoe with tall neck, *ibid.* pl. v, 4.
pyxis, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1936–7, 59, no. 17.
three-handled amphora, *Mon. Ant.* vi, pl. v, 7.
amphora, *ibid.* p. 128.
stirrup-vase, *ibid.* fig. 42.
two amphoras, *Bull. Pal. It.*, *loc. cit.* nos. 7–8.
oinochoe, *Mon. Ant.* vi, pl. v, 17.
three-handled amphora, *ibid.* pl. v, 18; cf. *Chamber Tombs* pl. 16, grave 520, 14; Kephallenia, Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1919, fig. 29, 3.
amphora, *ibid.* pl. v, 24; for decoration cf. *Zygouries*, fig. 131, 8; Furtwängler-Loeschke pl. 21, 154 (Tiryns).

Cozzo Pantano: goblet, *Mon. Ant.* ii, pl. 1, 2. The decoration has some likeness to Ialysos, *Ann. R. Sc. It.* vi–vii, fig. 133; and Furtwängler-Loeschke, pl. 18, 122 (Attica).
Milocca: two three-handled amphoras, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1903, pl. x, 1, 4.
Floridia: pyxis, *Not. Scav.* 1909, 376, fig. 32.
Molinello: three-handled amphora, *Not. Scav.* 1902, 416, fig. 6; cf. *Chamber Tombs* pl. 44, 2.
Agrigento: three-handled amphora, *Ausonia* i, 10, fig. 3. As last.

ITALY.

S. Cosimo di Oria: stirrup vase, Louvre D 1, *Vases Antiques du Louvre* pl. 29.
Scoglio del Tonno: G. Säflund, Δρᾶγμα *M. P. Nilsson dedicatum*, 458 ff.; *Bull. Pal. It.* 1899, 202–3; 1900, 12 ff., 285 ff.[10a] The earliest material is comparable with Mycenae pottery of the Granary style, *Chamber Tombs*, 184 ff.

[10] To the references in note 1 add A. Della Seta, *Italia Antica*, 49, fig. 38; Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery* (see Index of Sites, 644 ff.) and *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, 60, 64.

[10a] For further references to this material see below p. 10, *n.* 77.

Ischia: G. Buchner, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1936–7, 79, fig. 3; for Rhodian parallels cf. *ibid.* 78, n. 2.
Torcello and neighbourhood: R.M. Dawkins, *J.H.S.* 1904, 125 ff.

Near Draga in the Istrian peninsula was found a sherd (*Bull. Pal. It.* 1916, 29, fig. 5), which appears at first sight to be M.M. II or III (so Messerschmidt in von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde* ii, 346). The technique of filling incised ornament with white employed on this sherd, common in Cretan neolithic, is, however, rare in M.M. (see *P.M.* i, 176–7), and it must remain doubtful whether the sherd is in fact Minoan. In any case it is a single isolated object which cannot establish Cretan contact with the head of the Adriatic.[10b]

I shall return to the vases found on the mainland of Italy, and at present consider only those in Sicily. It is impossible to be precise about the place of origin of this stuff, except that it is certainly not Cretan.[11] Parallels occur equally readily in the Argolid and Rhodes, less frequently in Attica and the Ionian Islands. A local manufacture [12] is unlikely, though it occurs in another 'colonial' area, Macedonia,[13] and in the Ionian Islands.[14] A Rhodian origin is perhaps the most probable for the vases found in Sicily,[15] but a mainland origin is not to be excluded. These vases belong as a whole to the fourteenth century;[16] many of them are difficult to date, and some may perhaps be later.

Other imports are precious metals,[17] paste and glass beads,[18] and perhaps bronze vases.[19] Unworked copper came more probably from Tuscany than from the Aegean; tin presumably from Spain.[20]

These imports are limited to two small areas of Sicily, the neighbourhood of Syracuse and Thapsos, and Agrigento on the south coast. It is no doubt due to the accident of exploration that other regions have produced nothing, but it is not accident that these two areas should appear to be the centres of distribution. Cozzo Pantano, Milocca, Plemmyrion, Floridia lie in a small circle round Syracuse. It is reasonable to suppose that there was on Ortygia a trading station of Aegean merchants, traces of which have been destroyed by the Greek and modern city. Another trading station was Thapsos, which has produced about half the L.H. III vases found in Sicily. These two sites correspond so closely with Thucydides' description in vi, 2 of the sites occupied by the Phoenicians on the Sicilian coast that it is plausible to suppose that by Phoenicians he meant the carriers of these vases, in accordance with the theory popular in the fifth century and in the last generation which ascribed the earliest trading voyages, even in the Aegean, to the Phoenicians. What other sites, except Agrigento, these first Aegean

[10b] A. Taramelli, *A.J.A.* 1897, 305, fig. 17, publishes a sherd found near Trieste, with signs like Minoan writing; but the resemblance may be fortuitous. Another possible witness of Minoan penetration of the Adriatic is a copper bar found on or near the Dalmatian island of Pago; R. von Scala, *Hist. Zeitschr.* 1911, 17; cf. F. Messerschmidt in von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde* ii, 167.

[11] Wace and Blegen, *Klio* 1939, 136, who tentatively suggest that it was made in the Ionian Islands.

[12] As Evans suggested, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, 109.

[13] W. A. Heurtley, *B.S.A.* xxvii, 21, 59; *Prehistoric Macedonia*, 124.

[14] S. Benton, *B.S.A.* xxxii, 218–9; S. Marinatos, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1932, 8 ff.

[15] D. Levi, *op. cit.*; supported independently by G. Buchner, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1936–7, 78 ff.

[16] Furumark, *Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, 60, 64, places all the finds from Thapsos in his period Myc. III A2, which covers the fourteenth century.

[17] Gold rings: Pantalica, *Ausonia* i, 12, fig. 5; *Mon. Ant.* ix, pl. 8, 15; Cassibile, *Mon. Ant.* ix, 128; Dessueri, *Mon. Ant.* xxi, pl. 17, 10; Caltagirone, *Not. Scav.* 1904, 86, fig. 42; 77, fig. 22; S. Angelo Muxaro, *Atti d. R. Acc. di Palermo* 1932, figs. 3, 8; Pace, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica* i, 156–7, figs. 78–9.

There is no evidence that silver also was distributed westwards from the Aegean, as Evans suggests (*P.M.* i, 21).

[18] Thapsos, *Mon. Ant.* vi, 116, 133.

[19] Caldare, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1897, 12–15; Cannatello, *ibid.* 117 ff.

[20] But Orsi supposes (*Bull. Pal. It.* 1900, 273–4; cf. *id.* 1898, 198 ff.; *Mon. Ant.* ix, 96 ff.) that the bronze used in Sicily in the Bronze Age was imported from Cyprus.

traders visited we do not know, but Syracuse was surely then as later their chief destination. The Sikels of the south-east of the island were at this period the most advanced people of Sicily, chiefly no doubt because of their more extensive connexions with overseas.

The tradition of great engineering works such as are characteristic of the Minoan–Mycenaean civilisation is preserved in the account of the works of Daidalos given in Diod. iv. 78. These are the columbethra of the Alabon, the river which flows past Megara Hyblaia; the fortifications of Kamikos; the baths of Selinus (Thermae Selinuntinae, the modern Sciacca); the understructures of the temple of Aphrodite at Eryx; and other lost works. The Alabon is in the immediate neighbourhood of Thapsos. Kamikos was somewhere in the region of Minoan influence on the south coast. The worship of Aphrodite at Eryx shows considerable resemblance to the Minoan Dove-goddess.[21] The Aphrodite whose temple formed part of the tomb of Minos at Minoa may be the same goddess. The only one of these works of Daidalos for which no Minoan–Mycenaean connexion can be suggested is the baths of Selinus. Future exploration may provide a connexion, and may find archaeological support for regarding the cult of Eryx as Minoan. Or it may be that an age which had a confused tradition of the immense engineering works of the Minoan civilisation, and its extension to Sicily, ascribed all these great works of immemorial antiquity to the Cretan artificer Daidalos. As 'his fame spread over all Sicily and most of Italy too'[22] other works on sites not known to have any specifically Minoan connexion were given to him. This Daidalos, an engineer, is clearly to be distinguished from the sculptor, whose works were found in the parts of Sicily under the influence of the Cretan colonies.[23] The same name typifies two periods of Cretan influence, that in which Minoan colonists and artificers came to Sicily, and that in which Cretans colonised Gela, and their 'dedalic' sculpture was dominant in Sicily as in the rest of the Greek world.[24]

It is possible even that regular colonising movements took place. Two of the skulls from Pantalica and others at Castelluccio are of a type completely different from Sikel skulls from these and other sites. They are sphenoid, and may belong to settlers from the Aegean.[25]

The tholos tombs, typical of the coast stations of Siculan II,[26] are to be derived from Aegean tholoi.[27] Caltagirone is the only mountain station where tholoi are found.[28] In western Sicily, at S. Angelo Muxaro, tholoi continued to be used, and probably to be cut, to a very late date.[29] The adoption of this form of sepulchre implies closer and more continuous intercourse between Sicily and the Aegean, and more pro-

[21] *P.M.* iv, 960.

[22] Paus. vii, 4, 6. ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ καὶ Ἰταλίας ἀφίκετο τοῦ Δαιδάλου τὸ ὄνομα.

[23] Paus. viii, 46, 2; *Lind. Chron.* xxvii. The statues dedicated in *Lind. Chron.* xxxi had better be left out, as it is uncertain who dedicated them, to what city he belonged, and whether the ascription to Daidalos is not a misinterpretation of the epithet δαιδάλεα.

[24] See A. Rumpf, *Daidalos* (*Bonner Jahrbücher* 1930, 74 ff.); E. Kunze, *Ath. Mitt.* lv, 141 ff.; B. Schweitzer, *Xenokrates von Athen* (*Königsberger Gel. Ges.* ix, 1); R. J. H. Jenkins, *Dedalica*.

A word on the Kokalos-bowl: this, being metal-work, does not belong to the group of sculptures called Daidalic by the ancients (cf. Diod. iv, 76; Paus. ix, 40, 3), but Cretan bronzes of the seventh century are very well known. One of its subjects, Kronos receiving his children from Rhea and devouring them, is a Cretan myth.

[25] Sergi, 'Crani preistorici della Sicilia,' in *Atti della Soc. Romana di Antropologia*, vi (known to me from a quotation in Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* ix, 114).

[26] *E.g.* Thapsos, *Mon. Ant.* vi, 137 ff.; Cozzo Pantano, *Mon. Ant.* ii, 9 ff.

[27] This is denied by Levi, *op. cit.* 95; but there is certainly a new type of tomb introduced just when the import of vases begins.

[28] *Not. Scav.* 1904, 95; figs. 16, 29, etc.

[29] *Atti della R. Accademia di Palermo*, vol. xvii, fasc. iii, 1932.

found influence, than the import of a small amount of pottery. The Sikels were already great tomb builders and adept at cutting their soft limestone, but the introduction of a new type of tomb suggests strongly that there were permanent settlers from the Aegean among them. The earliest tholoi are likely to have been cut by Cretans or other overseas settlers, either for some of their own number or for a local prince.

Direct imitation of Mycenaean models is the only explanation of the slabs which close the entrance of the two Castelluccio tombs.[30] Siculan sculpture does not otherwise exist. It appears that not only the motives, but also the idea of carving in stone, were introduced to Sicily from the east.

The fibula is held to have been introduced into Sicily by Mycenaean commerce.[31] This involves a more thorough penetration than the import of a few vases and pieces of jewellery. For the Sikels permanently to change their costume, they must have had examples of the new dress constantly before them. One of the few western objects found in the Aegean is a Sicilian fibula at Kavousi in Crete.[32]

While the vases and metal objects from the Aegean found in Sicily do not establish more than occasional trade relations, the introduction of a new architectural type of tomb, and of a new form of dress, implied in the introduction of the fibula, together with the long survival of Mycenaean reminiscences in the local Siculan II pottery, are strong arguments that people from the Aegean made permanent settlements in Sicily.

The tradition of one attempt to found a colony is preserved in Herodotus, as well as by late authors: the story of Daidalos' flight from Crete to Sicily, Minos' pursuit, and his death there. Since the discovery of Minoan or Mycenaean imports on precisely that part of the south coast which Minos is said to have visited, it is possible that this tradition is a genuine survival.

The earliest reference is in the first half of the sixth century, in the offering made to the Lindian Athena by Phalaris of a bronze krater with the inscription Δαίδαλος ἔδωκε ξείνιόν με Κωκάλωι.[33] The occasion was presumably the capture of Kamikos, the city which Daidalos built for Kokalos, which was already Akragantine by Herodotus' time. Minos' pursuit and death are not necessarily implied.

Between 488 and 480 Theron discovered his bones and sent them back to Crete,[34] in order to enlist Cretan sympathy for a pan-Hellenic war in the west. This stroke of policy implies that the death of Minos in Sicily and the Cretan settlement at Minoa were already matter of common knowledge. But Daidalos is not mentioned.

In the fifth century the story aroused considerable interest. Herodotus gives the first full version.[35] He does not name Kokalos, but speaks of a five years' Cretan siege of Kamikos. He dates it in the third generation before the siege of Troy,[36] and his description of Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλευμένην agrees with the Thucydidean calculation which puts the coming of the Sikels in the middle of the eleventh century.

[30] *Bull. Pal. It.* 1892, pl. vi; Pace, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica* i, fig. 67; G. Libertini, *Guida del R. Museo di Siracusa*, 117, fig. 34. This also is denied by Levi.

[31] K. F. Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, 38 ff.; cf. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* ix, 100 ff.; *Bull. Pal. It.* 1905, 11; Colini, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1910, 132 ff. G. Säflund, *Studi Etruschi* xii, 45–6 points out that the fibula reaches Sicily (and Scoglio del Tonno) after the Mycenaean period, and regards it and other Aegean or Levantine elements in the culture of the mountain-stations of Siculan II as establishing immigration in the Intermediate period (ninth century?). For possible intercourse between Sicily and the Aegean at this period cf. also F. Schachermeyr, *Etruskische Frühgeschichte*, 190.

[32] Blinkenberg, *op. cit.* 43 f., 57.

[33] *Lind. Chron.* xxvii.

[34] Diod. iv, 79.

[35] vii, 170.

[36] vii, 171, 1.

Sophokles' *Kamikioi* [37] and Aristophanes' parody the *Kokalos* [38] show that the growing Athenian interest in Sicily extended to its earliest history. Antiochus began his history of Sicily with Kokalos,[39] and Philistos treated of him in his first book.[40] There is no indication how any of these authors treated the story, but there would be very little to say about Kokalos without Daidalos and Minos.

The fullest account is in Diodorus.[41] Daidalos fled to Sicily on his home-made wings, or as some rationalists had it by sea. He was well received by Kokalos king of the Sikans, for whom he built the fortress of Kamikos. Minos came in pursuit, put in to Minoa, and was welcomed by Kokalos. But when he asked for Daidalos to be given up, Kokalos had him killed in a bath. He was buried at Minoa in a double tomb, the front part of which was a temple of Aphrodite. Some of his followers remained there and called their city after him. Others wandered inland and founded Engyon, whither Meriones later brought more Cretans.

Later variants affect details only. Pausanias makes Inykon the city of Kokalos to which Daidalos comes,[42] and Charax also calls Kokalos' capital Inykon.[43] Freeman's suggestion that Inykon was called Kokalos' city before Kamikos was built is too subtle.[44] It appears that one well-known Sikan town is simply substituted for another. Pausanias and other authors [45] add the romantic touch that Kokalos' daughters, seized with admiration for Daidalos, put Minos to death. In another passage Pausanias says that Daidalos fled from Sicily when the Cretans came, and went to Aristaios' colony in Sardinia.[46]

Only one of the post-Herodotean versions dissociates Minos and Daidalos. The atthidographer Cleidemus says that Daidalos fled to Athens, but Minos in pursuit of him was carried by a storm to Sicily.[47] This sounds like a patriotic invention bringing Daidalos back to the land of his birth, rather than a following of an old source which spoke of Minos in Sicily but not Daidalos. The Lindian Chronicle does not mention Minos, but it is very brief, and directly concerned with Phalaris, not Daidalos and Kamikos. It does not follow that there was in the sixth century a version without Minos.

There is no important discrepancy between Herodotus and Diodorus. Diodorus omits the second Cretan expedition which came to avenge Minos' death, besieged Kamikos unsuccessfully, and left Sicily, settling finally in Iapygia. Herodotus, rather surprisingly, does not name Minoa, nor speak of any Cretan settlement in Sicily. Heracleides Ponticus says that Minos himself founded Minoa after a victory over the barbarians; [48] but this variation from Diodorus is not significant. The main lines of Diodorus' account are expressed or implied in Herodotus and other earlier versions, with the exception of the discovery of the tomb of Minos by Theron, for which there is other most cogent evidence. This being so, it is likely that in the sixth century also the story had the same general form.

[37] Frags. 323–7, ed. Pearson.

[38] Frags. 345–55, *O.C.T.*

[39] Diod. xii, 71: ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Κωκάλου τοῦ Σικανῶν βασιλέως.

[40] Frag. 1, Müller.

[41] iv, 78–9.

[42] vii, 4, 6: ἐς Ἴνυκον Σικελῶν πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται παρὰ Κώκαλον.

[43] *Ap.* Steph. Byz. Κάμικος, πόλις Σικελίας, ἐν ᾗ Κώκαλος ἦρχεν ὁ Δαιδάλου . . (lacuna) . . Χάραξ δὲ Ἴνυκον ταύτην φησίν.

[44] *History of Sicily*, i, 495.

[45] Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* vi, 5, quoting Hippostratos; Kallimachos, *Ox. Pap.* xvii, 2080, and Schol. *Il.* ii, 145, quoting Philostephanos and Kallimachos; Apollodoros Epit. i, 13 (ed. Frazer); Zenobius iv, 92; Hyginus 44; Conon 25.

[46] x, 17, 4.

[47] Frag. 5 (*F.H.G.* i, 359).

[48] Frag. 29 (*F.H.G.* ii, p. 220).

Herodotus has his story from a Cretan source, though the interest in the Iapygians is the mark of one western addition,[49] and perhaps the precision of Sikania is another. An ultimate sixth-century source has been suggested for Diodorus.[50] As it stands his account has a strongly Sicilian colour, and omits the particularly Cretan details in Herodotus of the second expedition which finished up in Iapygia and the men of Polichne and Praisos who stayed at home. But the bare fact that one of the Cretan kings made an expedition to Sicily and died there may have been preserved by a Cretan historian.

This tradition might have been brought to Sicily by the Cretan colonists of Gela and Akragas. The tomb of Minos in Akragantine territory kept the legend alive, and the works which preserved the fame of Daidalos show that memory of Minoan contacts was revived by the confusion with 'Daidalic' works of art in the Cretan colonies. It has been suggested that the story was written down in Sicily before the middle of the sixth century in a poem of Stesichorus.[51] Though the absence of references makes it unlikely that there was a poem of his on the subject, it is at least likely that a west Sicilian poet of his school wrote one. Not much political capital appears to have been made of the discovery of a Cretan work of art on a Sikan site, for the Kokalos bowl was dedicated not in Crete but in Rhodes. The discovery of the bones of Minos was used by Theron, not to enforce the Akragantine claim to Minoa, which had been taken from the Selinuntines some time earlier, but to enlist Cretan sympathy in a war in the west of Sicily. This indicates that, whereas the discovery of a 'dedalic' statue at Omphake was designed to forward the advance of the Cretan colonists, the story of Minos and Daidalos was a genuine tradition which had its centre of interest in Crete, not Sicily.

The general view is that this story was invented after the arrival of the Greeks at Akragas. Freeman says: 'Such a tale, we may be sure, did not arise till Sicily was well known to the Greeks, perhaps not till that part of Sicily had received Greek settlers. . . . The presence of Minos was most likely suggested by the presence on the same coast of a place called Minoa', whose name he thinks may be Phoenician.[52] Pareti distinguishes three stages in its growth, an Akragantine concerned with Daidalos alone, a Selinuntine adding Minos, and a late Geloan version transferring Kokalos and Daidalos to Geloan territory.[53] The attempt to dissociate Minos and Daidalos has already been examined. Pareti argues further that Minos is not Cretan but Megarian and Selinuntine.[54] His grounds are (1) that the works of Daidalos in Diod. iv, 78 are all in the territory of Megara Hyblaia or Selinus; (2) that Minoa is a Megarian name, and the legend of Minos is derived from the name Minoa; (3) that Kamikos was originally Selinuntine. The columbethra of the Alabon and Thermae Selinuntinae are in the territory of Megara or Selinus, the other two 'works of Daidalos' are not. Nothing connects Selinus and Eryx, and the cult of Aphrodite is not certainly attested at Selinus. As the cults of Selinus are better known than those of most colonial cities, this is a strong argument against the

[49] Cf. iv, 99.

[50] Evans suggests Epimenides as the sources of the rather plentiful reminiscences of Minoan Crete in Diodorus (*P.M.* iv, 959).

[51] Byvanck, *de Magnae Graeciae historia antiquissima*, 15.

[52] *Op. cit.* i, 113. This critical view is as old as 1855, when Del Natale advanced it (see Pace, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica*, i, 52).

[53] *Studi Siciliani ed Italioti*, 262 ff.

[54] Daidalos as well as Minos is associated by Pareti with Megara, but such arguments as this need not be seriously examined: 'Non va dimenticato infatti che Dedalo è un eroe essenzialmente ateniese, e che Megara Nisea era assai vicina ad Atene' (p. 266). In fact, he does not question the Akragantine origin of Daidalos.

Selinuntine origin of either the cult of Aphrodite attached to the tomb of Minos or the Daidalos-built temple of Eryx.

The site of Kamikos is still to be identified, in spite of the striking description which Diodorus gives of it. The story of Minos implies that it was no great distance from Minoa, and as Phalaris took it it must have been easily accessible from Akragas.[55] As Minoa was still Selinuntine in 510,[56] Phalaris could not have acted to the west of it. Though it is not certain where the later boundary between Akragas and Selinus lay, no place much to the west of Minoa could have remained Akragantine continuously from 480. Kamikos was Akragantine in the time of Theron; in Herodotus' day; during the Second Punic War; and in Diodorus' day.[57] Schubring's suggestion of Caltabelotta,[58] though it is the right sort of hill, is out of the question because this site, just inland from Thermae Selinuntinae, cannot have been in Akragantine territory, except possibly for a few years after 480. Cluver's Siculiana,[59] followed by the older writers, suits the historical evidence very well, but does not answer to Diodorus' description. There is no hill to suit in the rolling country about the mouth of the Halykos, so it was probably a little further inland, one of the remarkable mountains of which the Pizzo di Cammarata is the chief. According to Duris, *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀκράγαντες, it was on a river of the same name, therefore not on the Halykos. Caputo suggests S. Angelo Muxaro, the chief Sikel site of the Halykos valley, and the only one where there is Minoan influence.[60] This identification is not impossible, but like Mussomeli, which corresponds more nearly with Diodorus' description, S. Angelo was independent at a period considerably later than Phalaris.

No one would now regard Minoa as a Phoenician name, but it might be Megarian, given by the Selinuntines in memory of the island off Megara Nisaia. Minos is associated with Megara Nisaia in the story of Nisos, but Pareti rightly rejects the wobbly parallel between the daughters of Nisos and the daughters of Kokalos who appear in a late version of the story.[61] Minoa is a very common name in the Aegean, and there is no reason why Minoa in Sicily should not like the others recall the sea-power of Minoan Crete. If it can be shown to be possible that the story of Minos preserves an actual reminiscence of Minoan intercourse with Sicily, then there is no ground for regarding it as an etymological formation from Minoa. What cannot have been invented, and has nothing to do with Megara, is the Temple-Tomb.

The discovery of the Temple-Tomb at Knossos provides the most convincing proof that the tradition of a Minoan colony in Sicily is genuine. It corresponds so closely with Diodorus' description of the double building the front part of which was a Temple of Aphrodite and the hidden back part the tomb that there need be little doubt that a similar building existed at Minoa.[62] The Temple-Tomb had been lost to sight for centuries before Theron discovered the tomb at Minoa, which must genuinely have been a tomb of the same sort, and Minoan. The view that the Minos story is no older than the

[55] There is not the slightest particle of evidence in support of Pareti's contention that it was from the Selinuntines that Phalaris took it. Nothing suggests bad relations between Akragas and Selinus so early. It was traditionally a Sikan stronghold, and presumably was still so in the sixth century.

[56] Herod. v, 46.

[57] Herod. vii, 170; Diod. xxiii, 9; iv, 78.

[58] *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, 1865, 133 ff.; cf. Freeman, *op. cit.* i, 496 ff.

[59] *Sicilia Antiqua*, 220.

[60] *Apud* Pace, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica* i, 338. So also Bérard, *La Colonisation grecque*, 443.

[61] Ciaceri, *Culti e Miti nella storia dell' antica Sicilia*, 106 ff.

[62] *P.M.* iv, 959 ff. Evans suggests that the bath in which Minos was murdered was a Late Minoan larnax used as sarcophagus.

Greek colonisation of Sicily cannot explain this monument. The name Minoa must have the same origin as the Minoas in the Aegean, in a colony or trading-post from Crete.

The vases imported from the Aegean do not support the hypothesis of a Minoan colonisation, for they are not Cretan but Helladic, probably from the Argolid or Rhodes. But they are less important, as evidence of movement of persons, than the swords and the shapes of Siculan graves. They indicate, however, that the connexions between east and west continued after the fall of Knossos, though they were no longer in the hands of Cretans. The period of the Cretan settlement would be LM. I–II, in the fifteenth century B.C.[63] For centuries earlier there had been occasional Minoan trade, but the volume of Minoan objects is too inconsiderable to suppose that trade with Sicily was very active.

After *c.* 1300, which is the date to which the latest imports of pottery can be assigned,[64] came a long period in which Sicily was cut off from contact with the Aegean. The mountain stations of Siculan II, which are later than the coast stations, have no imports except rings, which may have been handed down for generations before they were buried. One, in the Siculan III grave of Rocca Alta I at Caltagirone, certainly was.[65] The complete absence of Protogeometric, and of Geometric older than the second half of the eighth century, makes it clear that the Minoan–Mycenaean contacts were quite broken. The gap of two centuries which so perplexed Orsi[65a] should be considerably widened.[66] During this time Siculan culture was left to develop itself with the aid of the comparatively slight Aegean influences which it had absorbed. The coast stations were abandoned, and the typical sites of the later Siculan II period are hilltops like Pantalica, of great natural strength. Perhaps the disturbed state of the Eastern Mediterranean at the time of the Sea-Raids spread to the Ionian Sea, and pirates obliged the Sikels to leave sites such as Thapsos, which were less valuable as trade declined.

Before leaving Sicily some of the later variants of the Minos and Daidalos story must be examined. The 'late Geloan legend in opposition to the Akragantine' [67] is unimportant. The Omphake statue has nothing to do with it, being the work of another Daidalos, sculptor not engineer. The existence of a station Daedalium on the coast between Akragas and Phintias (Licata) [68] may be a very late localisation of Daidalos' arrival, due to the local pride of the Geloans of Phintias, or may indicate the presence there of another work of the sculptor Daidalos, which was, like the Omphake statue, associated with the Geloan conquest. The substitution of Inykon for Kamikos may be

[63] Evans, *P.M.* i, 454, suggests the beginning of L.M. on the basis of the L.M.I swords postulated as the models of the Sicilian type; but these may have come in the ordinary way of trade, without settlement.

[64] See above p. 3.

[65] *Not. Scav.* 1904, 86. Cf. Minoan gems found in Crete in Geometric contexts, Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, 42; Karo, *R.E.* xi, 1795.

[65a] *Bull. Pal. It.* 1903, 141.

[66] The only evidence of contact in Protogeometric or early Geometric times is a bell-krater from Montaperto near Agrigento (in the Minos area) which Blakeway regards as derived from a Protogeometric original (*B.S.A.* xxxiii, 189). There is sufficient material from sites of this period, especially in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, to give force to the argument from absence. Moreover, Bronze Age Aegean influences continue to be felt in Siculan pottery without reinforcement until a generation before the age of the Greek colonisation.

A suggestive paper by P. Bosch-Gimpera in *Studi Etruschi* iii, 9 ff., suggests wide relations between Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and the Aegean in the Intermediate Period. But the Aegean and Anatolian parallels which he finds in the pottery of Sicily, Sardinia, and Tuscany in the eleventh to ninth centuries are not strong enough to support this thesis. To examine the nuraghe culture of Sardinia and its possible relations with Etruria (see also A. Taramelli, *Studi Etruschi* iii, 43 ff.; von Bissing, *Röm. Mitt.* 1928, 18 ff.) would take us too far from our subject; too little is known about the relations and chronology of this Sardinian culture.

[67] Pareti, *op. cit.* 271, n.

[68] *Itin. Ant.* 95, p. 13 Cunze. Perhaps at Palma di Montechiaro, where the Greeks settled at least as early as the late seventh century. (*Bull. Pal. It.* 1928, 45 ff.; *Mon. Ant.* xxxvii, 585 ff.)

a feeble effort to move the location of the story into Geloan territory. It is not known where Inykon was, but it must have been east of Akragas; for in 493 it was in Hippokrates' hands, and was probably not far from the north coast, as Skythes escaped thence to Himera.[69] It may be that Inykon is the same as Engyon, which is given a Cretan origin;[69a] probably to explain a local cult. It is curious that Cicero does not mention the Cretans when he speaks of the shrine of the Magna Mater at Engyon.[70]

Other extensions may have been intended to make political or religious capital. The version according to which Daidalos fled from Sicily to Sardinia on Minos' approach is almost certainly to be put into relation with the Greek intentions to colonise Sardinia in the sixth century.[71] Daidalos also visited Africa, according to the pseudo-Skylax; [72] a Greek settlement was also on the cards at the same time.

The settlement of the remnant of the Cretans in Iapygia [73] has some archaeological support, though, as in Sicily, the archaeological material is not Cretan but Mycenaean. Though we cannot accept the Cretan origin of the Messapians and the city of Hyria, it is precisely from Oria that the earliest Aegean import to South Italy comes.[74] With the Gulf of Taranto there was early and apparently continuous contact. The earliest vases at Scoglio del Tonno near Taranto are L.H. III, of the thirteenth century,[75] and it appears that a colony maintained itself there from this period until the arrival of the Greeks at Taras. There is little native ware of this period at Scoglio del Tonno; though there is a fabric which is probably local, it is Greek in origin, and is quite different from contemporary pottery from the site of Taranto.[76] Some of this shows Greek influence, from which it is evident that the Greek and the Italian settlements were in close contact. Mycenaean survivals in the local pottery show that to some extent the settlement was left to develop its own resources, but as there are Protogeometric imports it seems likely that it was never cut off from Greece.[77] This agrees with what we know of the importance of the Ionian Islands in L.H. III and the subsequent period.[78]

Nowhere else in Italy, except at Coppanevigata on the southern side of Mount

[69] Herod. vi, 23–4.

[69a] 'Nostos-foundation' by Meriones, Diod. iv, 79.

[70] *Verr.* II, iv, 44, 97; v, 72, 186.

[71] Cf. R. L. Beaumont, *J.R.S.* 1939, 86, n. 66.

[72] 111.

[73] Asserted by Antiochus (*ap.* Strabo 278) as well as Herod. vii, 170. Daidalos' fame spread to Iapygia too: Iapyx is said to be his son by Pliny (*N.H.* iii, 102) and Solinus (ii, 5). The Daunians in North Apulia are said to have been settled by a son of Minos (Solinus, *ibid.*). Late sources bring Idomeneus from Troy to Iapygia; Virg. *Aen.* iii, 400–1; Solinus ii, 1; Varro *ap.* Probus ad *Buc.* vi, 31. See further Mayer, *Apulien*, 368 ff.

[74] Louvre D1, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, pl. 29.

[75] This pottery is assigned by Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery*, 575, and *ap.* Säflund, Δρᾶγμα *Nilsson*, 472, to his period Myc. III C1 (= Close style) and dated *c.* 1230–1200. He states that it was manufactured 'in some peripheral part of the Mycenaean world,' and suggests, with reserves, that this was Achaia (Δρᾶγμα, 488).

[76] Mayer, *Apulien*, 1 ff.; Blakeway, *B.S.A.* xxxiii, 175–6; Q. Quagliati, *Bull. Pal. It.* 1911, 59 ff. Cf. Messerschmidt in von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde* ii, 323–4.

[77] A selection of the material from Scoglio del Tonno has been published by Säflund, Δρᾶγμα *Martino P. Nilsson dedicatum*, 458 ff. Some of the native pottery is published in *C.V.A. Taranto*, fasc. i (1940) and some of the Mycenaean in fasc. ii (1942) III A, pll. 1–2. See also U. Rellini, *Mon. Ant.* xxxiv, 244 ff., figs. 39–40. There is still much work to be done on it. I have left in the text remarks based on my own observations in 1935, which unfortunately are unrevised and have only a provisional character. The chief difficulties are (i) stratification; it appears from Quagliati's account (*Not. Scav.* 1900, 419) that the Late Helladic vases were found in a confused stratum together with Protocorinthian, and *above* the 'Apennine' settlement, which, however, is commonly dated later than L.H.; (ii) relation of Scoglio del Tonno to the neighbouring site of Borgo Nuovo, Taranto. The latter point is not discussed by Säflund; the Borgo Nuovo site would appear to have a better claim to represent the Iapygians who were found on the site of Taras by the Spartan colonists (Antiochus *ap.* Strabo 279; so Mayer, *Apulien*, 1 ff.) than Scoglio del Tonno, which Säflund calls Iapygian (*op. cit.* 490); (iii) Säflund speaks as if the imported vases were *only* Mycenaean and Protocorinthian, but I have notes of Greek Protogeometric and Geometric which fill the gap. The *upper* stratum of Scoglio del Tonno I take to be the remains of a Greek predecessor of Taras, reaching back to the period of the fall of Mycenae, and coming to an end on the foundation of Taras.

[78] W. A. Heurtley and H. L. Lorimer, *B.S.A.* xxxiii, 22 ff.; cf. A. J. B. Wace and C. W. Blegen, *Klio* 1939, 136.

Gargano, among the Daunians, has Greek material of the Intermediate period been found.[79] This is near Sipontum, one of the many foundations of Diomedes,[80] and not far from the better-attested Rhodian colony of Elpiai; [81] in the district were the heroa of Kalchas and Podaleirios the healer on Mount Drion.[82] Diomedes is shown by Beaumont to go back to the sixth century, Podaleirios at least to the fifth; the Rhodian colony is of the sixth century if not earlier; Greek imports are now known to be as old as the Protogeometric period, if not also sub-Mycenaean—that is, as old as the tenth century. Unfortunately it is not yet possible to say from what part of Greece the Protogeometric imports come.[83]

Elsewhere in South Italy archaeological evidence is lacking, and we have to fall back on myth. Most of the South Italian cities boasted that they were founded by one of the heroes on the return from Troy. The spirit of the campanile is responsible for many of these remote and noble origins; others may reflect pre-colonisation contacts, or unsuccessful attempts at colonisation, projected back into the heroic age.[84] It would be tedious to enumerate them all,[85] and it will be enough to concentrate on the Adriatic and Ionian coasts which, *a priori*, are more likely to have received early visitors from the Aegean.

It is surprising that Taras is never given a Cretan or Achaian origin.[86] The reason must be that the story of the Spartan origin and the personality of Phalanthos, himself developed into a hero, were too well known. Sybaris and Kroton also, though not without heroic traditions, are agreed to have been founded in the full light of history. It is in the obscurer cities of Metapontion, Siris, Lagaria, Krimissa and its neighbours, that most of the stories are at home.

Metapontion is said to have been founded by Pylians, companions of Nestor; [87] Bakkhylides already ascribes it to Achaians after the fall of Troy.[88] Justin says that the tools with which Epeios made the Wooden Horse were preserved in the Temple of Athena at Metapontion,[89] but the better tradition says that they were at Lagaria,[90] which was called a foundation of Epeios and the Phokians.[91] A Phokian origin in historic times, due to Daulios tyrant of Krisa, is assigned to Metapontion,[92] and it is likely that there were there Phokians associated with the Achaians; so it was easy to transfer the Phokian hero to Metapontion when Lagaria had declined.[93]

Siris, between Metapontion and Lagaria, was said to be a Trojan city, and had a cult of Athena Ilias.[94] At Siris also was shown the tomb of Kalchas, though whether the seer

[79] A. Mosso, *Mon. Ant.* xix, 305 ff.; Blakeway, *B.S.A.* xxxiii, 174–5; cf. G. Hanfmann, *A.J.A.* 1941, 313.

[80] Strabo 284.

[81] References in R. L. Beaumont, *J.H.S.* 1936, 172–3; cf. G. Giannelli, *Culti e Miti della Magna Grecia*, 47 ff.; M. Mayer, *Apulien*, 384.

[82] Strabo, *loc. cit.*, cf. Beaumont, *op. cit.*, 196.

[83] Hanfmann, *loc. cit.*, indicates Cycladic parallels.

[84] J. L. Myres, *C.A.H.* iii, 670, accepts the 'Trojan War' settlements in principle; cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die Heimkehr der Odysseus*, 180 'anderes wie alles Italische jünger ist und doch zum Teil keinesweges wertlose Spielerei.'

[85] I omit such transparent fictions as give Oinotros and other eponymous heroes a place in Greek genealogies.

[86] The cults of the Achaian heroes witnessed in ps.-Arist. *de mir. ausc.* 106 are derived from Sparta, as the prominence of the Atreidai and Agamemnonidai shows, and have no bearing on this point (cf. Giannelli, *op. cit.* 38 ff.). Satyria, mother of Taras and eponym of the pre-Greek settlement, is called daughter of Minos in a late source (Probus ad *Georg.* ii, 197).

[87] Strabo 264; cf. Vell. Pat. i, 1; Solinus ii, 10.

[88] x, 113 ff.

[89] xx, 2, 1.

[90] Lyk. 930; ps.-Arist. *de mir. ausc.* 108.

[91] Strabo 263; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λαγαρία.

[92] Strabo 265.

[93] Giannelli, *op. cit.* 99, 112, thinks that the story of a Phokian origin as well as the Phokian cults and heroes were transferred to Metapontion when Siris and Lagaria were conquered. But there is no other evidence for his view that Siris and Lagaria passed into the territory of Metapontion.

[94] Strabo 264; Lyk. 978 ff.

of the Achaians or another was doubtful. Sybaris is said to have been founded by a son of Aias the Lokrian in conjunction with the Troizenians, which probably indicates, as is suspected on other grounds also, that there were Lokrians among the colonists of Sybaris.[95]

Krimissa, Petelia, Chone, Makalla between Sybaris and Kroton are all said to have been founded by Philoktetes.[96] He dedicated the bow of Herakles in the temple of Apollo Alaios near Krimissa, and was buried near Krimissa or Makalla.[97] The insignificant towns are often interchanged in our late sources, and Justin transfers the whole story to Thuria.[98] The author of *de mir. ausc.*, however, who is better informed, says that the Krotoniates in the time of their supremacy removed the bow to Kroton.[99]

Kroton and the temple of Hera Lakinia are said to have been founded by Herakles; visited by Menelaos,[100] Odysseus,[101] and Aeneas,[102] and associated with Thetis and perhaps Achilles.[103] At the mouth of the Neaithos the burning of the ships of the Achaians is most firmly placed,[104] though many other rivers of the coast are named as the scene.[105]

Skylletion is said to have been founded by Menestheus.[106] Lokroi has no heroic origin.

Some of the late sources introduce a good deal of confusion. Thus, Justin displaces the scene of the offering of both Epeios and Philoktetes. The *Etym. Magn.* substitutes Philoktetes for Epeios in the account of the temple of Athena Hellania in which Epeios' tools were offered.[107] Velleius Paterculus says that Metapontion was founded by Epeios, who had become detached from Nestor. Other instances have already been mentioned. This is partly because of carelessness and ignorance of the site of small towns long since uninhabited, partly because cults and legends had in fact been transferred from these to the larger cities of Metapontion, Sybaris (or Thuria) and Kroton. In spite of these wanderings, it is possible to make out a single heroic or legendary origin for most of the Achaian colonies of South Italy and the other Greek cities of the same area:

at Metapontion: Pylians.
at Siris: Trojans and Kalchas
at Lagaria: Epeios
at Sybaris: Lokrians
at Krimissa etc.: Philoktetes
at Kroton: Trojan women and Herakles

Kalchas at Siris, the hero Kroton who received Herakles at Kroton, are local, whether native or of Greek invention. The latter is fairly obvious; if the former may now be assumed in advance, we have a Nostos-story apiece for six cities. Before examining their credibility, we must discuss the Nostoi more generally.

Some of them are as old as the sixth century in their developed form, which included

[95] Solinus ii, 10; cf. Anton. Lib. viii, 7.
[96] Strabo 254; Lyk. 911 ff.; ps.-Arist. *de mir. ausc.* 107; cf. Giannelli *op. cit.* ch. viii; Fiehn in *R.E.* xix, 2507.
[97] Krimissa: *de mir. ausc. loc. cit.* Makalla: Lyk. 927–8.
[98] xx, i, 16.
[99] 107.
[100] Lyk. 856.
[101] Skylax 13; Pliny *N.H.* iii, 96.
[102] Dion. Hal. i, 51, 3.
[103] Schol. Lyk. *loc. cit.*; cf. Giannelli, *op. cit.* 165 ff.
[104] Strabo 262; Schol. Lyk. 921.
[105] Lyk. 1075 ff. places it by the Krathis.
[106] Strabo 261; Pliny *N.H.* iii, 95; Solinus ii, 10.
[107] *s.v.* Ἑλένια.

exact topographical details. Diomedes is localised in Apulia as early as the first half of the sixth century, perhaps by the Rhodians who traded in Apulia and founded Elpiai.[108] The western voyage of Aeneas may have been in Stesichorus' Ἴλίου Πέρσις: though this must not be too lightly accepted,[109] the origin of the Elymians in Sicily from a remnant of the Trojans is as old as Thucydides.[110] In the same passage Thucydides says that some Phokians on their way home from Troy were swept to sea, and finally arrived in Sicily. The elaboration of the wanderings of Odysseus is at least as old as the fifth century, for the heroön of Drakon near Laos is named in an oracle about the defeat of the Greeks by the Lucanians in *c.* 390 B.C.,[111] and the identification of the Hero of Temesa as one of Odysseus' companions is presumably an integral part of the story how the Lokrians took Temesa in the first half of the fifth century.[112] The growth of the Odyssey story, the Nostos of which we have the earliest and fullest account, is worth examining.

The central part of Odysseus' wanderings takes place in unknown western seas, in lands inhabited by strange unhuman beings. The bare bones of the story may reflect Minoan voyages in the Western Mediterranean, and some details, for instance Skylla and Charybdis,[113] may be embroidery of the natural hazards of that navigation. For the poet of the *Odyssey*, his hero is out of the range of physical geography when once he has lost sight of Malea.[114] The Greeks who localised with such precision the Laistrygonian plain and the homes of the Kyklopes and the Sirens seem not to have noticed the contradiction in identifying the romantic Θρινακιὴ νῆσος with the home of the Σικελοί of which Homer speaks with realism though very little knowledge.[115]

These localisations begin already with Hesiod, who places Kirke's isle off the Tyrrhene coast, and names Latinos son of Odysseus and Kirke.[116] He mentions the Kyklopes, however, without reference to Sicily.[117] Between Homer and Hesiod knowledge of the West grew fast, and the archaeological evidence shows that Etruria was exploited by the Greeks earlier than Sicily.[118] But there is a difference which is less of time than of temperament; Hesiod was interested in the ends of the earth, as they were known to men of his own time, and the poet of the Odyssey, in his main story, is telling an ancient tale and is not concerned with such things.

The final embroidery of Odysseus' tale associates with his passage every headland and island from Circeii to the Straits [119] (some of the islands are themselves mythical, or at all events are not visible today).[120] This process has indeed continued until now, for M. Bérard has identified with the most exact topographical detail the scene of every episode in the *Odyssey*. The visits of the other great travellers, Menelaos [121] and the Argonauts,[122] are valueless. Aeneas and Herakles, like Odysseus, belong especially in the West. We have only the later form of the story of Aeneas, but in the case of Herakles it appears that Stesichorus already related many details of his wanderings and

[108] Beaumont *J.H.S.* 1936, 194 ff.; cf. 172–3.
[109] *Cf.* Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 104 ff.
[110] vi, 2.
[111] Strabo, 253.
[112] Paus. vi, 6, 7; Strabo, 255.
[113] *P.M.* i, 697–9, fig. 520; S. Marinatos, Ἀρχ. Δελτ. x, 51 ff.; not accepted by Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, 32.
[114] ix, 80–4.
[115] xii, 127, 135; xx, 383, xxiv, 211; cf. Σικανίη, xxiv, 307.
[116] *Theog.* 1011 ff.; Schol. Ap. Rhod. iii, 311. I see no reason for denying that Latinos is part of the eighth-century Hesiod.
[117] *Theog.* 139 ff.
[118] A. A. Blakeway, *J.R.S.* 1935, 129 ff.
[119] References in Byvanck, *op. cit.*, 22.
[120] *E.g.*, the island near Terina on which the Siren Ligeia was buried (Lyk. 726) and Kalypso's island off the Lakinian promontory (ps.-Skylax 13 ;Pliny *N.H.* iii, 96).
[121] Lyk. 852 ff.
[122] Ap. Rhod. iv, 647 ff.

sojourns in Italy and Sicily. In a word, this form of literature is well developed in the sixth century.

But these are different from the other stories with which we are dealing, in that the chief interest is in the persons. The topographical details may have been introduced in the first place as embellishments, drawn by Stesichorus and his followers from country with which they were familiar. Only later were they torn from their settings by zealous local historians. It is otherwise with those stories which have a particular local setting which in many cases is their chief point. Local pride is indeed the only ground for a particularly outrageous story. The Laconian origin of the Samnites was recognised as a Tarentine fiction,[123] and other heroic origins were too much to be believed even by Roman antiquarians.[124] Some identifications were due to accidents of names, for instance, the Trojan origin of the Veneti,[125] the derivation of the Marsi from Marsyas.[126]

This is true in other less obvious cases. Diomedes is no doubt rightly regarded as a native hero whose name has been assimilated.[127] So is Kalchas. The Kalchas whose grave was visible at Siris is distinguished by the scholiast on Lykophron from the seer, buried at Klaros near Kolophon after his unfortunate contest with Mopsos over the figs, and said to be a local ruler killed by Herakles while driving Geryon's oxen.[128] Further north there was a Daunian hero Kalchas or Kalchos,[129] and the version which makes the Kalchas honoured at Siris a native hero is certainly the right one. Athena Ilias was also worshipped both at Siris and in Daunia (Elpiai, Luceria) as well as elsewhere in Italy.[130] Giannelli regards her as a Lokrian goddess, associated with Aias and the yearly despatch of two Lokrian virgins to Troy as recompense for the rape of Kassandra.[131] But there is no other trace of Lokrians at Siris or Elpiai,[132] which are of East Greek origin; Rhodians are associated with the foundation of both. The origin of the title, whether East Greek or, like Kalchas, native Italian, is doubtful, but it is extremely likely that the title gave rise to the story which brought Trojans to Siris. The Athenian origin of Skylletion is likewise to be taken as a misinterpretation of the title of Athena Skylletia.[133] It was probably supported on political grounds when the Athenians felt the need, at some time during the fifth century when they were so interested in the West, of establishing their leader in South Italy beside other national heroes. Menestheus is at the best of times a suspicious hero. The localisation of the burning of the Achaian ships by Trojan women on the Neaithos is probably a piece of folk-etymology without *arrière pensée*.[134]

Three stories do not yield to this treatment; Epeios, Philoktetes, and the Pylians of Metapontion. They may, however, be due to a similar ambiguity on a much larger scale. All lie within the area of Achaian colonisation; Metapontion alone, it is true, is an Achaian colony, but the 'cities of Philoktetes' came within the territory of Kroton,

[123] Strabo 250.

[124] *E.g.*, the derivation of Prochyta from Aeneas' nurse (Pliny *N.H.* iii, 82), who elsewhere indeed is called Caieta (Solinus ii, 9).

[125] But see I. Thallon, *A.J.A.* 1924, 47 ff.

[126] Pliny *N.H.* iii, 108; cf. Solinus ii, 5.

[127] Beaumont, *op. cit.* 195.

[128] Schol. Lyk. 980.

[129] Beaumont, *op. cit.* 196.

[130] Lyk. 1126 ff.; Strabo 264.

[131] *Op. cit.* 48 ff.

[132] Varro *apud* Prob. ad. *Buc.* vi, 31, quoted by Giannelli, p. 51, n. 1, associates Lokrians with the Cretans led by Idomeneus who colonised Messapia, but this is far from Elpiai in North Apulia. Giannelli's hypothesis of a Phokian origin of Siris (106 ff.) has no other foundation than this localisation of Athena Ilias.

[133] Lyk. 853; cf. Giannelli, 202 ff.

[134] With these localisations depending on similarity of names compare the migration in the Renaissance of Pythagoras from Kroton to Cortona, where his tomb is shown to this day.

Lagaria into that of Sybaris. In the earliest version of the heroic origin of Metapontion, in Bakkhylides, it is ascribed not to Pylians but to Achaians generally. The fact that the Homeric Greeks and the people of the north coast of the Peloponnese were called by the same name made confusion, whether genuine or deliberate, easy. There were many variant accounts of the colonisation of Metapontion, in which probably many peoples took part; this would make it easier to add another strain. There is no record of the origin of the people who settled Lagaria in historic times. Little is known of the circumstances in which Krimissa and the neighbouring towns were settled. The absence of a definite tradition about the colonisation of these places gave better currency to stories which placed their origin in the mists of antiquity. It is plausible to suggest that the stories of Epeios and Philoktetes cast back into the heroic age accounts which really belong to the Greek colonisation, which in these small places was not so definitive as at Taras, Sybaris, Kroton and Lokroi. These might belong to the eighth century or the seventh—that is, they might be 'pre-colonisation' contacts, or they might be the arrival of unimportant bodies of men in the full period of the colonisation of South Italy. A parallel is the Temple of the Argive Hera at the mouth of the Sele, said to have been founded by Jason.[135] This temple has now been excavated, and the earliest objects, all of which are Greek, are dated *c.* 700 B.C.[136] This may be earlier than the Sybarite colony of Poseidonia. If so, when the Sybarites arrived, finding a Greek temple in the neighbourhood, they might well ascribe to it a high antiquity.[137] Until the cities of the east coast of Italy have been further excavated, it would be rash to dogmatise about their origin. In the absence of archaeological support, it is unwarranted to take any of the Nostoi-legends at their face-value. But so it was once to accept the Sicilian Minos-story; and in time it may be shown that their growth depended as little on homonyms as the Minos-story does on the name of Minoa. They are certainly not all late inventions; that of Metapontion is preserved in a fifth-century source, those of Siris, Lagaria and Krimissa are likely to belong to the period of the independence of those cities, the sixth century. But on examination of the legends themselves we are not justified in concluding that the historical facts enshrined in them relate to a period more than two hundred years before that.[138]

The conclusion is in part a negative one, that without archaeological evidence we are

[135] Strabo 252; Pliny *N.H.* iii, 70.

[136] *Not. Scav.* 1937, 206 ff.

The opinion expressed above is the conclusion of the excavators (*id.* 209), and my recollection is that the earliest Protocorinthian pottery I have seen from the site is to be dated in the first quarter of the seventh century. It has not been published, and the statement in the text must be taken as provisional, as the excavation was still continuing when the report was made.

Geometric pottery was found in graves in the neighbourhood (*J.H.S.* 1938, 251).

Bérard, *La Colonisation grecque*, 231 ff., suggests that the original settlement by the Sybarites was at the mouth of the Sele, which remained the port after the town was moved to the site of Poseidonia (Strabo, 252). The date of the foundation by the Sybarites is not known; it can hardly have been earlier than 700, as Sybaris was founded only *c.* 720. But the Heraion may not begin so early as 700; if it can be brought down into the seventh century, Bérard's hypothesis may well be correct. I have not seen Bérard's paper in *Mél. Arch. Hist.* lvii (1940).

[137] The association with the Argonauts is perhaps due simply to a confusion of the epithet Ἀργεία and Ἀργώ. Though Strabo's manuscripts read Ἀργονιάς, which is commonly corrected to Ἀργῷας, the correct form Ἀργείας is established by Pliny. Why the Argive Hera was worshipped here is not made clear by the tradition or the finds; there is no especial connexion with Argos. But as the cult of Hera spread from Argos to Samos, Sparta, Corinth (cf. *Perachora* i, 22) it may have been brought to Italy from a secondary, probably Peloponnesian, centre.

[138] I might have discussed the Eusebian entry under the year 1051 B.C.: Mycene condita in Italia vel Cume. As there was certainly no Greek contact with Kyme until the eighth century (Blakeway, *B.S.A.* xxxiii, 200 ff.) this might be held to be a clear case in which a Mycenaean origin is falsely ascribed to a Greek colony. But I think that the item in Eusebius has not been correctly transmitted and that it belongs instead to Aiolic Kyme (Pareti, *Studi Siciliani*, 322).

not justified in assuming visits of Greeks to Italy in any prehistoric period on literary evidence alone. It is significant that those pre-Hellenic colonisations which are supported by archaeological evidence are those ascribed by tradition to Minoan Cretans, on the south coast of Sicily and in Iapygia. These stories may be accepted as having some basis in fact. The larger group of stories in which a hero, Greek or Trojan, on the return from Troy settles in the West is less easy to interpret. In no single case can we be confident that we have a tradition handed down from heroic times. Some of the legends have certainly grown up at a comparatively late period, and most have been over-sedulously fostered. It might plausibly be supposed that in the unsettled period from the thirteenth century onward adventurers from the Aegean sailed westward, as they did eastward to Cyprus and the neighbouring coasts of Asia. The absence of both literary and archaeological evidence shows that Sicily was beyond their range. The Gulf of Taranto was certainly accessible. It is therefore possible, to say the least, that the Greeks were in contact with other parts of the east coast of Italy. But proof must wait for digging.

T. J. DUNBABIN.

NOTE:—This paper was written in 1939. In the war years there has been much work published which bears on its main problems, with which I have tried to deal in the text and footnotes; but much will have escaped me, or is not yet available in England.

There is now a full-length study of the same subject in J. Bérard's book *La Colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile* (Paris, Boccard, 1941). I should say a few words about this book; and as I shall inevitably concentrate on those points at which we differ, I wish to express my appreciation of his work for its clear and complete exposition, its sensible discussion of other scholars' views, and the importance of the first, historical, part.

Bérard discusses at length the heroic origins ascribed, not only to cities in Sicily and South Italy, but also in Central and Northern Italy and further afield. His conclusions are briefly summed up on pp. 455 ff. of his book, and may be still further summarised here:

(1) The main narrative of the *Odyssey* gives an account, in many respects very detailed, of Greek voyages in the West before the eighth century; the legends of the return of the Argonauts and of Herakles in Spain also go back to this period. Other legends, of Minos and the Nostoi, are indissolubly attached to these three.

(2) The legendary origins cannot be explained as reflections into the past of the actual origin in the eighth and seventh centuries of the Greek colonies, for their distribution is different and they relate the colonies to parts of the Greek world very different from those in which they had their origins.

(3) The legends are not limited to the colonial areas, but cover also North-Western Sicily, Apulia, the Veneto, Latium and Etruria, as well as Sardinia and Spain. The chief Greek colonies, such as Syracuse and Sybaris, are poor in legend, whereas small places like Lagaria, Krimissa and Petelia are centres of legend.

(4) These latter centres are native places hellenised by contact with the Greek colonies, and the legends attach to their sanctuaries. Similarly the legends of Kroton and Poseidonia attach to sanctuaries lying outside the towns, which appear to have succeeded native sanctuaries.

(5) The descendants of the Trojans, Phokians, Cretans, etc., to whom the legendary origins are ascribed, are the native populations with whom the Greek colonists came into contact.

A further conclusion, presented with the reserve that speculations of the kind demand, is that the native populations found by the Greeks in Southern Italy, and known by many names—Oinotrians, Chones, Iapygians, Elymians and many others—had an overseas origin in the Balkans or Aegean. These are those peoples to whom the Greeks attached heroic or legendary origins, roughly those (though Bérard does not draw this equation) to whom the 'Apennine' culture of Eastern and Southern Italy may be related. The legends of Minoan, Trojan, Achaian origin are thereby related to movements into Italy of Aegean (speci-

fically, pre-Hellenic 'Pelasgian') peoples in the periods of the wanderings in the second half of the second millennium. This is brought loosely into relation with the archaeological evidence of contact at this period between the Aegean and Italy.

Bérard's tendency is to accept all the legends as having a possible basis in fact, though he is not without signs of scepticism. He is surely right in opposing that school of historians who see in all the legends a reflection into the heroic past of historic events, whether at the time of the colonisation or later. The number of origins otherwise unsupported and at variance with the historic traditions which Giannelli, for example, in his *Culti e Miti della Magna Grecia*, postulates is enough to prove that this method cannot be applied everywhere. This is not to say that it is wrong in every case, and that many of the legends may not have had their origin in historic events or situations. Nor is that a sound line of argument which says that a legend found in a late source only is therefore unworthy of trust. A late source has many more opportunities of being taken in by some patriotic invention or some ingenious reconstruction by a Greek or local historian; but an early source also is capable of invention or embellishment. In one myth, with which I have not dealt above, one can see it in the process of construction; the adventures of Herakles in Spain, which were narrated by Stesichorus and are to be related to the exploitation of Spain which was going on in his own day; the localisation in Spain was not acceptable to Hecataeus. The fact that the *Theogony* places Erytheia, the home of Geryon, beyond Ocean (vv. 287 ff.) does not imply that Hesiod placed it in Spain: far less that he 'referred to Spain without knowing of it' (Bérard, p. 423), and that the story has its origin in pre-Greek contacts with the Far West.

The lack of a touchstone by which to distinguish genuine traditions from the inventions of poets, historians and pamphleteers should make one chary of using any of them unless they are supported by other evidence, which in the nature of the case cannot be other than archaeological. Bérard weakens his case by including such tales as the Zakynthine origin of Saguntum and the Eleian origin of Pisa in Italy, which appear to rest on nothing other than homonyms; and by too close adherence to his distinguished father's view on the scenes of the events of the Odyssey. As an example of his method, we may take the origin of the Heraion of Poseidonia. I have suggested above that the legend of the foundation by Jason may be due to the similarity of sound between Argeia, the epithet of the goddess, and Argo. Bérard connects the Heraion, not with the famous Heraion of Argos, but with the Thessalian Argos; recalls the Thessalian origin of the Aminaioi (Aristotle ap. Servius ad *Georg.* ii, 97) and emends Macrobius *Sat.* iii, 20, 7 to locate the Aminaioi near Salernum; and quotes in support Dion. Hal. i, 17, 2, who says that Pelasgians from Thessaly, Argive by race, were responsible for founding the cult of Hera Argeia at Falerii. Jason was a Thessalian, and he also was brought to Italy by the Aminaioi. This is a good specimen of the ingenuity of Bérard's reasoning; it hangs together; but is it not simpler to believe that Hera Argeia was the Hera of Argos? and that her worship was brought to Poseidonia by Peloponnesians, whether the Troizenian settlers of Sybaris or others, at the period to which the oldest remains of the sanctuary belong (*i.e.*, the time of the Sybarite colonisation of Poseidonia, or earlier, but still within the period of the historical Greek colonisation of Italy) rather than by Pelasgian Aminaioi in remote antiquity? The sanctuary, as excavated by Zanotti-Bianco and Dr. Zancani-Montuoro, is Greek, and its votive offerings begin at an ascertainable point in the archaic period. It is therefore natural to suppose that its founders were Greeks, rather than postulate a pre-Hellenic cult of which the excavation has revealed no trace. If, as is still possible, the site produces something older than the eighth century, then the legendary foundation by Jason will need to be reconsidered as a possible prehistoric link between Greece and Italy. Until then, there is no evidence that the localisation of the Argo-legend in the Tyrrhenian is very ancient. For M. Bérard, it is proved by the references in the *Odyssey* to the Argo; but for those who do not accept Victor Bérard's localisations of the topography of the *Odyssey*, the authors from Timaios onward who bring the Argonauts into these western waters will carry little weight.

Furthermore, the long discussions of prehistoric ethnology advance the argument little. The ancient views about the origin and relationship of peoples are not indeed valueless; for instance, the Illyrian affinities of the Iapygians (references, Bérard, p. 452) are borne out by place-names; and the extension of Sikels to the mainland of Italy as well as Sicily by the results of excavation. But they are very difficult to interpret, and when they reach as far back as Pelasgians, it is an almost hopeless task to disentangle them. It is not much easier to draw ethnological conclusions from the archaeological evidence, for community of culture even if undisputed is not proof of community of descent. But at least the archaeological evidence assures us of one of the four critieria of nationhood, according to Herodotus (viii, 144). We may not always indeed be sure of common culture, as many elements in the culture of a people are not represented in their

material remains. But we cannot in the case of prehistoric Italian peoples know anything of descent, language and religion; and what the Greeks thought at a much later date about descent is a poor substitute.

These doubtful points in method and presentation should not obscure the essential soundness of Bérard's main theme; that some of the legendary origins may contain a reminiscence of colonisation or trade from Greece before the foundation of the colonies. I have above suggested, rather than demonstrated, this for a few of the legends. Another which is now generally though not universally agreed is that the Etruscans came to Italy by sea from Anatolia. The reasons for accepting this are mainly archaeological, though the case is greatly strengthened because the Etruscans, unlike most of the other peoples of Italy, were literate. Those legends which I have suggested have a basis in fact are those which can be checked archaeologically; though the archaeological evidence of Mycenaean contact with Sicily and the neighbourhood of Taranto does not entirely agree with the literary tradition, according to which these areas were colonised by Cretans. Be this as it may, this is the only method which offers any hope of corroborating the legends, and while it is possible that many more of them may preserve a genuine tradition of early intercourse, proof must still wait for digging.

TWO TOMB-GROUPS FROM SELINUS

K. M. T. ATKINSON'S study of two tomb-groups from Selinus in a recent volume of the *Papers of the British School at Rome*[1] deserves attention for several reasons. It is the first time that the contents of any of these graves, excavated over fifty years ago, have been published as a whole. It is not easy in Palermo Museum to isolate and study individual grave-groups from Selinus, owing to the vicissitudes they have been through since they came out of the ground. Any publication of grave-groups has a value above that of the original vases; and many of these vases, particularly the bucchero, belong to classes which are interesting and too little studied. Mrs. Atkinson therefore deserves our gratitude for her careful and well-illustrated publication.

She goes on to draw conclusions which, if well established, would be of great historical value. No one has satisfactorily explained the existence of two well-supported dates for the foundation of Selinus, which is an important point of history and vital for absolute archaeological chronology. So her arguments and the dating of vases and graves on which she bases them deserve a rigorous examination. From such an examination it will appear that the date of the two graves and of most of their contents is substantially lower than she allows.

I have had the benefit of Dr. R. J. Hopper's study of the Corinthian pottery from Perachora, which supplements *Necrocorinthia* in dealing with the lesser products of this industry; Dr. Hopper has also very kindly allowed me to quote his observations on the vases under discussion, cited hereafter as R.J.H. Other abbreviations used are:

NC. = Payne, *Necrocorinthia.*
A.J.A. = *American Journal of Archaeology.*
B.S.A. = *Annual of the British School at Athens.*
E.C. = Early Corinthian (625–600 B.C.).
M.C. = Middle Corinthian (600–575 B.C.).
L.C. = Late Corinthian (575–550 B.C.).
L.C. II = Late Corinthian II (after 550 B.C.).

55. 1–4. For the bucchero kantharoi from Ialysos see P. Jacobsthal, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeiger* 1933, 4. Those at Corinth (in an E.C. context) are published in *A.J.A.* 1937, 232, fig. 38.[2] There are many fragments of similar vases, as well as of 'Faliscan' kantharoi with point-marks, from Perachora.

The Veii graves on which Mrs. Atkinson relies for dating contain no Transitional or any other Corinthian pottery. The vases in *Not. Scav.* 1935, 350, fig. 21 are certainly not all seventh century in date. Greek cups of different shapes and periods are imitated in fig. 21, *c*, *f* and *m*; *f* being of the first quarter of the sixth century. The Megara graves, not all of which contained several burials, deserve more attention than she gives them. My impression is that these kantharoi had a long life, most of which falls in the

[1] XIV, 1938, 115–36.

[2] And now in *Corinth VII*, i, 71, nos. 310–1 and pl. 37.

sixth century. But most of the evidence is from the debateable graves of Megara and Selinus.

55. 5. 'The shape is definitely late; the knob is certainly earlier' (R.J.H.), but this does not therefore date the vase, to which the lid may not have originally belonged. The warriors are the featureless creatures of Late Corinthian (*NC.* 320, fig. 160); all the E.C. examples are much more carefully executed. The zigzag band, although it occurs earlier (*e.g.* in *NC.* pl. 24, 1, quoted by Atkinson) is rare before L.C. II, particularly in this more compressed form. Dot-rosettes recur in the late Middle and Late period (*NC.* 157), of which last the debased blob-rosettes are typical. The Protocorinthian dot-rosette, which survives into Early Corinthian, is different from this type with large central dot.

This vase might be late in the M.C. period, but is probably L.C. The Rhitsona graves provide the best evidence for dating these warrior aryballoi. Megara grave 80, quoted by Mrs. Atkinson, contained a black-figure lekythos, for the shoulder decoration of which see Haspels, *Attic Black-Figure Lekythoi*, 67. Therefore, whatever the nature of the eight 'skyphoi of Protocorinthian style' which it contained (I have no notes on them), the grave cannot be quoted as a seventh-century one.

55. 6. Bad version of the 'white style'; cf. *NC.* 331, no. 1490 (L.C. II).

The comparison with *Mon. Ant.* i, 851 and 869 is not close; there is a world of difference between the carefully outlined tongues of the examples from Megara and the blobs on this; between the checks on the shoulder of *Mon. Ant.* i, 869 and the hasty alternate dotting of 55. 6.

55. 9. Cf. *NC.* 306, fig. 141; this dumpy vase is later than the M.C. examples there quoted. The decoration is a debased version of the 'white style', which is common in L.C. II, though it may begin earlier. Hopper says of the vase 'probably not Corinthian, but some Italian or Sicilian fabric; note the *orange-brown* paint. Another in grave 41, but with bands and horizontal wavy lines on shoulder'.

55. 12. The shape is certainly not earlier than the sixth century. The 'cream slip' mentioned in this and other descriptions is an accident of firing, or of the effect of the earth in which the vase has lain. Though Protocorinthian and Corinthian vases often have the appearance of a slip, this is due to high firing and polishing of the surface.

55. 13. The great majority of these small kotylai are L.C., and they continue into the fifth century.

55. 14. 'Some of these running-dog kotylai are certainly M.C., and I think this one is. Note the bands, instead of rays, below the frieze'. (R.J.H.).

55. 16. L.C.; the decoration is of the same type as 55. 6; the clumsy shape also suggests a workshop of the same character.

The M.C. amphoriskos in Ialysos LXII (*Clara Rhodos* iv, 105, fig. 99) proves only that a sixth-century vase has somehow found its way into a seventh-century deposit, not that the amphoriskos is a seventh-century shape.

55. 18. Look at *NC.* pl. 21, 8 and the M.C. examples on pl. 31–4; can any one say that this is more like the former? The proportions of the comast are those common in M.C., though the drawing is very bad; the subsidiary ornament is also M.C. This is certainly earlier than 55. 16, but by no means the earliest of Corinthian amphoriskoi, to judge from its shape.

55. 20. These miniatures belong mainly to the sixth century, and are commonest after the middle. Hopper compares *Clara Rhodos* iv, 76, fig. 53; 81, fig. 60; 173, fig. 174, all associated with Attic black-figure vases, and probably not Corinthian.

55. 22. See Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona* 44; a simple and probably late quatrefoil. For the shape cf. *id.* pl. 10, grave 86, 199.

55. 23. For E.C. examples of the shape at Corinth see *A.J.A.* 1937, 227, figs. 30–32. The Etruscan parallels have little relevance as this vase is in a different clay and may well be local.

55. 24. This kneeling satyr cannot be thought to belong to the seventh century.

27. 1. 'The decoration consists of *confronted lions*; if one looks closely, the hind legs, body, and part of shoulder-complex can be made out. Probably E.C., and the earliest vase in her collection'. (R.J.H.).

27. 2–4. Not early. See above on 55. 13.

27. 5. Comparison of the shape of the foot with that of Attic comast cups shows that it is contemporary with the later of these, *i.e. c.* 580–70.

27. 6–7. These grey alabastra, common in Sicily, may well be Rhodian, as Mrs. Atkinson suggests.

Other grey bucchero vases found in Sicily include: krateriskos, oinochoe, plate and alabastra in the sanctuary of Bitalemi near Gela (*Mon. Ant.* xvii, figs. 464–7); cups and dishes in the grave ex-Spagna 1 at Syracuse (*Not. Scav.* 1925, 179–80, figs. 2–3; the date of the grave is given by Payne, *NC.* 57, as 'about the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries', though Mrs. Atkinson proposes an appreciably earlier date); kyathos in Syracuse 309, patera in Syracuse 459, both early sixth century graves; phiale in Megara 240; aryballoi in Gela, Borgo 9 and Megara 640, both early sixth century graves, and in Selinus graves 11 and 31.

The following are some Sicilian graves in which grey alabastra are found together with dateable Corinthian vases:

Syracuse 450, 165; Megara 612 } with Transitional.

Syracuse 440; Megara 26, 166 } with Early Corinthian.

Syracuse 495
Megara 4, 104, 216, 428, 503, 455, 660 (omitting many graves which have two or more burials with Early-Middle Corinthian)
Gela 91, 118, 462
} with Middle Corinthian.

Syracuse 24, 446, 551, 631, 667, ex-Spagna 95
Megara 129, 163, 210, 336, 819, 823, 885, 980
Gela, 49, 60, 67, 293, 141, 196
} with Late Corinthian.

Syracuse 74
Megara 168, 215, 712, 870
Gela 262
} with vases of the second half of the sixth century.

It will be seen that most of the graves with alabastra are of the first half of the sixth century, and that grey bucchero vases of other shapes are found with Middle Corinthian pottery, or in imprecise associations. This disposes of the statement that they are of *exclusively* Transitional-Early Corinthian date. That is the period of the earliest examples only, and the fabric has a life of at least a century.

Megara 21, which Mrs. Atkinson regards as the earliest grave to contain one of these vases, was not a single burial, as Payne points out (*NC.* 12, n. 2); the Protocorinthian vases belong to one deposit, the Corinthian to another.

Most of the vases in grave 55 appear to be Late Corinthian. The earlier parallels quoted by Mrs. Atkinson are for the most part inexact. Many of the vases are of simple types which continue for a long time. It would be odd if all of a group of vases of types which become common only in the Late Corinthian period should happen to be Early Corinthian examples. Their careless decoration and clumsy shape suggest a late date in the decline of Corinthian vase-painting, rather than early but incompetent potters and painters. And some of them have a definite Late Corinthian stamp about them; I should not hesitate to ascribe 55. 5, 6, 9, 13, 16 to that period. The plastic vase 55. 24 also is not far from the middle of the century. There are earlier vases: 55. 14 and 18 are certainly Middle Corinthian; others may be. But the date of a grave is that of the latest object in it, and in this case the majority of the Corinthian vases are late. I have pointed out L.C. II parallels for some of the vases, but these features begin in the preceding period. The date of the grave, however, and of most of the vases in it, can hardly be much earlier than 550 and may even be a little later.

There are fewer dateable vases in grave 27, but it is not earlier than 580–70 (see on 27. 5), and the miniature kotylai might be expected to be later. However, this grave seems appreciably earlier than 55. The relative age of the two graves is approximately correctly estimated by Mrs. Atkinson on p. 130: 'Tomb 27 must be regarded as contemporary with the earlier rather than with the later group of objects from Tomb 55.'

On the general question of the archaeological usefulness of the Selinus graves; some of them have certainly been used more than once, and in succeeding generations. This was a regular practice at Megara Hyblaia, and some of the graves in both places continued in use for long periods, up to a century. At Selinus, grave 42 contains two E.C. oinochoai, and two r.f. lekythoi; grave 25, a M.C. alabastron and a lip cup; grave 52, M.C., L.C. and b.f. pottery (the notes are due to Hopper). Another factor is the long period of neglect which the vases suffered, before their present display was arranged; in the absence of full excavators' journals or marks on the vases themselves, it is im-

possible to be sure that in every case the groups have been preserved uncontaminated. The possibilities of confusion are increased by the fact that graves dug in different years have the same number, distinguished by the addition of the year; thus there is another grave 55 (1889). However, it is evident from Mrs. Atkinson's study that individual grave-groups when isolated present a homogeneous picture, and it is much to be hoped that others will be published.

Few of the Selinus graves belong to the seventh century. The earliest vases from grave 42 do (see Hopper quoted above); so does *NC.* 297, no. 712, from grave 57; and 27. 1 above. To put it another way; there is a mass of Early Corinthian pottery from the Malophoros site, the earliest vases of which are all at the same stage of development; it begins not in driblets but with a rush. This sanctuary was probably consecrated at the time of the foundation, and began at once to receive dedications. The intensive building activity which must be compressed into the first half-century of the colony's existence (see Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.* xxxii, 22 ff.) confirms this. We may therefore be reasonably certain that the earliest offerings made in the Malophoros sanctuary have been found, and that they were made soon after the foundation of Selinus (see also Atkinson, pp. 133–4). This is not true of the graves, in which there are few unmistakably Early Corinthian vases. As Mrs. Atkinson rightly points out, there must have been graves belonging to the earliest years of the colony, as the colonists will have died in battle or from other causes year by year; but the earliest graves have apparently not been found.

The archaeological evidence for the date of the foundation of Selinus still stands where it did when Payne wrote *Necrocorinthia.* The suggestion that the variant date *c.* 650 given in Diodoros and Eusebius represents the first tentative occupation of the site is not borne out by the remains. The earliest objects found there are almost all of the same period, and the pieces earlier than the beginning of the Corinthian style are few indeed. Nor is there evidence of earlier Greek trade with the natives of the district.[3] The archaeological evidence suggests that the occupation of Selinus by the Megarians was not preceded by any period of Greek settlement or unofficial colonisation, such as there was at Akragas. Such an argument can never be final, but is the more cogent at Selinus because of the completeness of the excavation and the mass of material referable to an early period of its existence.

Archaeology cannot provide more than an indirect argument in favour of Thukydides' date against Diodoros'. The foundation of Selinus would be an archaeological landmark, even if its absolute date were undetermined, because it stands so close to the introduction of the Corinthian figure style, and because of the striking absence of Protocorinthian vases where there are so many Corinthian. This makes it the more important to determine its date, if possible, on purely historical grounds. But, of the two variants in the field, 650 is ruled out by the difficulty of supposing that the Protocorinthian style had already been abandoned by that date. This variant has to be explained, I think, on literary rather than historical or archaeological grounds. I attempt this in my forthcoming *The Western Greeks.*

T. J. DUNBABIN

[3] Cf. Blakeway, *B.S.A.* xxxiii, 184, n. 1: 'I know of no pre-colonisation evidence from Selinus.'

BEASTS AND THEIR NAMES IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

PERSONAL names of animals, mostly of dogs and horses, are, as everyone is aware, recorded in the literature and archaeological monuments of archaic, classical, and hellenistic Greece. A few examples must suffice here, by way of preface to our present study. The most familiar of Homeric named beasts is, of course, Odysseus' faithful hound *Argos* ('Swiftfoot': *Od.* 17, 292). Hector's steeds (*Il.* 8, 185) were *Xanthos*, *Podargos*, *Aithon*, and *Lampos*—Tawny, Swiftfoot, Flash, and Fire: Achilles drove *Xanthos* and *Balios*—'Tawny' and 'Dapple,' offspring of the mare *Podarge* (*Il.* 19, 400); and Menelaus yoked Agamemnon's mare *Aithe* (Bay) and his own horse *Podargos* (*Il.* 23. 295). Names of classical hunting-dogs are quoted in Xenophon's *Cynegeticus* (7, 5). In hellenistic times the best-known animal-name is that of Alexander's favourite charger *Boukephalas* ('Oxhead') (Strabo 15, 1, 29; etc.). Theocritus records the names of two heifers, *Lepargos* ('Whitecoat') and *Kymaitha* (Plumpling ?) (4, 45–46), and of a bull, *Phaethon* ('Brightcoat') (25, 139): the author of *Idyll* 8 tells us of *Lampourgos* (Firetail), a sheep-dog (65); while among metrical epitaphs on dogs dating from this age we have that of *Philokynegos* ('Chasseur') of Pergamon, accompanied by a portrait of the deceased and dating, probably, from the third century B.C.[1] We know, too, the names of elephants owned by hellenistic kings—*Syros*, *Aiax*, and *Patroklos*, belonging to Antiochus (Pliny, *NH* 8, 11 and 12), and *Nikon* (Victor), belonging to Pyrrhus (Plutarch, *Pyrr.* 33). There are also the well-known animals of Greek mythology, such as the hounds of Actaeon, listed by Ovid (*Metam.* 3, 206–233), Hyginus (*Fabularum liber* 181), and Pollux (*Onomasticon* 5, 47); there are the hounds of the Calydonian boar-hunt, portrayed and named on a black-figure Attic *kylix*, signed by Archicles and Glaucytes, at Munich;[2] *Pegasos*, of course; the four horses of the sun-god's chariot, *Pyroeis*, *Eoos*, *Aithon*, and *Phlegon* (Fiery, Dawn, Flash, and Blaze); *Lampos* and *Phaeton* (Fire and Brightcoat), the horses of Eos (*Od.* 23, 246); *Arion*, the steed which Poseidon begot by Demeter when she was disguised as a mare; and *Phlogeos*, *Harpagos*, *Xanthos*, and *Kyllaros* (Flame, Snatcher, Tawny, and Swift ?, or Bowlegs ?), the horses of Castor and Pollux (Stesichorus, *Frag.* 1; Virgil, *Georg.* 3, 89–90).

But it is not until the Roman period that records of the names of actual historical beasts, of living personalities, so to speak, become really plentiful. Here there seems to be room for a new assemblage and study of the literary and archaeological material, in spite of the work already done by previous students in the field. Keller, in *Die antike Tierwelt* I (1909), gives lengthy lists of the names of dogs (pp. 135–136) and horses (pp. 257–259); but these are mostly devoid of references and indication of period, and make no distinction between historical and mythological beasts. Bäcker, in his *De canum nominibus Graecis* (1884), and Jeschonnek, in his *De nominibus quae Graeci pecudibus domesticis indiderunt* (1885), are interested only in Greek names. Friedländer's *De nominibus equorum circensium* (1875), gives a brief, and long since out-of-date, list of the

[1] Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, no. 332.

[2] Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-Figure Vases*, 60, 61.

names of Roman race-horses. Mentz, in his *Die klassischen Hundenamen* (*Philologus* 88, 1933, pp. 104–129, 181–202, 415–442), confines himself to the canine world; and his alphabetical list, mainly of Greek names, includes mythological, as well as historical, dogs. The present study is centred round the names, both Greek and Latin, of real beasts, of any kind, in any part of the Roman Empire, in the imperial age. It is, in the main, confined to those named animals the evidence for the historical existence of which in that period can be verified from references in literature, inscriptions, and works of art. It makes no claim to be a complete survey, but is based on such sources as have come the writer's way during the course of her researches so far. There must certainly be many more names which have as yet escaped her notice. Meanwhile the subject of animal nomenclature in the Roman Empire, trivial though it sounds, throws some sidelights on human mentality and social history in imperial times.

Our knowledge of the names of animals under the Roman Empire is, as we have seen, derived from three main sources—literature, inscriptions, and works of art. The literary references are scattered about in the works of a wide variety of imperial-age Greek and Latin authors, both poets and prose-writers. In the epigraphical field the most fruitful source is the inscriptions, mostly found in Rome, giving lists, long or short, of the names of steeds victorious in chariot-races in the circus (*CIL* VI, ii, 8628, 10047, 10048, 10050, 10052, 10053, 10056, 10069, 10080). Fruitful, too, are the *tabellae defixionum*, or inscribed spells, collected and published by Audollent in 1904. Among these are a number of inscriptions, ten in Greek and twenty-two in Latin, found in Rome, Carthage, and Hadrumetum (the modern Sousse) in Tunisia, in which adherents of one or other of the great circus-factions—Greens, Blues, Reds, and Whites—invoke some demon or malignant deity to bring to disaster in the coming races the charioteers and horses, all of whom are named, of the rival factions. Nowhere is the bi-lingual character of the Empire more vividly illustrated than in these lists. If Latin names, on the whole, predominated, many Greek names were also favoured. Often Latin names were transliterated into Greek, as well as Greek names into Latin, according as to whether Greek or Latin was the writers' and their employers' native tongue. A more recent discovery is a lead *tabella defixionis* found at Beirut in 1929, which gives a list of thirty-five horses with thirty-two different names, twenty-five of them being known to the writer from this source only (Pl. I, 1).[3] Here we have also a portrait of the human victim of the curse, the charioteer, or, perhaps, the owner of the stud, standing unhappily on one leg, sheathed in a kind of straight-jacket, while ten nails have been driven into him, seven into his body and three into his head. On the right is the head of a serpent, or bird of prey, about to bite. Small objects such as terra-cotta lamps and metal bells have been found inscribed with the names of race-horses, some in Latin, others in Greek. Finally, there are the epitaphs, both Latin and Greek, inscribed on the tombs of favourite dogs and horses, found in Rome, Italy, and the provinces. Some of these merely record the names of the departed, with or without a brief comment, such as *Dromo et Hylaci canibus venaticis bonis :* others give a full-dress appreciation in verse. Most interesting of all are the works of art. For in them we have, not only the animals' names, but also their likenesses. There are marble reliefs, ranging from what may be the humble tombstone of a Roman puppy to the magnificent late fifth-century monument of the charioteer

[3] *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 15, 1930, pl. 3.

Porphyrios in Constantinople, on which three teams of four horses are portrayed and named. Named horses are also depicted on painted glass vessels, bone knife-handles, draught-counters, lead tesserae, terra-cotta lamps, contorniates, and gems. Gems, too, show dogs, a performing bear, and, possibly, a performing boar, all labelled with their names. Unrivalled for attractiveness are the mosaics, mostly found in North Africa, some in Spain, and a few in Italy, showing hunting-dogs in action and race-horses in action or at rest. One mosaic from North Africa shows a troupe of performing bears. A selection of these monuments will be described and discussed in the second part of this paper.

Names are known for seventeen varieties of animals in the imperial age. There are, to the writer's knowledge, four-hundred-and-eighty or so different names for race-horses, seventeen for hunting-dogs, eleven for sheep-dogs, seventeen for pet dogs, two for watch-dogs, sixteen for bears, three for hunters, two for chargers, four for mules, one for a lion, five for leopards, three, possibly four, for boars, three, possibly four, for bulls, one for a stag, one for a seal, one for a whale, and one for a donkey.[4] Two names are shared by race-horses and bears, three by race-horses and hunting-dogs, one by a race-horse and a boar, possibly one by a bear and a bull, one by a race-horse, a hunting-dog, and a pet dog, three by race-horses and sheep-dogs, one by a hunting-dog and a watch-dog, and one by a sheep-dog and a watch-dog. The vast preponderance of race-horses' names reflects, of course, that well-known passion for chariot-racing in the circus for which the populations of the great imperial cities, and of Rome in particular, were famed.[5] As pets pure and simple, dogs were clearly favourites and were often given charming names; while even working dogs, such as sheep-dogs, hunting-dogs, and watch-dogs, sometimes had pet-names and their share of petting. Columella, in his *De re rustica* (7, 12, 13), advises farmers not to give long names to their sheep-dogs, so as to ensure a quick response when the animals are called. Names of two syllables, he says, are the best, such as *Scylax*, *Lacon*, *Spoude*, *Alce*, and *Rome* in Greek and *Ferox*, *Celer*, *Lupa*, *Cerva*, and *Tigris* in Latin. The Greek Arrian, in his *De venatione* (18), gives three typical hunting-dog names in use in the second century A.D., also of two syllables—*Kirra*, *Bonna*, and *Horme*. But these rules were not, as we shall see, always kept.

I

Our first task is to attempt to analyse the various kinds of names which animals of the Roman Empire received.[6]

Twenty-seven names of race-horses denote colour or markings. Such are *Aureus*, *Igneus*, *Pyrrhus*, *Candidus*, *Eburnus*, *Purpureus* (Roan), *Polyeides* (Dapple), *Sidereus* and *Aster* (Star), *Piropus* (Gold-bronze), *Coracius* (Raven), *Glaucus* (Grey), *Roseus* (Bay), *Prunicus* (Plum), *Murinus* (Mousy), and *Maculosus* (Piebald). There were also hunting-dogs named *Chrysis* and *Kirrha* (Goldy and Tawny). *Porphyrios* (Purple) was the name of a whale, which, according to Procopius (*Hist.* 7, 29, 9), annoyed Constantinople for fifty years, eluding all the means devised by the Emperor Justinian for its capture.

[4] There do not seem to be any records of the personal names of Roman-age domestic cats.

[5] See, for instance, Lucian, *Nigrinus*, 29:—ἤδη δὲ τούτων ἀποστὰς τῶν ἄλλων αὖθις ἀνθρώπων ἐμέμνητο καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταραχὰς διεξῇει . . . καὶ τὰ τῶν ἵππων ὀνόματα . . . πολλὴ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἡ ἱπποµανία καὶ πολλῶν ἤδη σπουδαίων εἶναι δοκούντων ἐπείληπται.

[6] Only a selection of the names known to the writer in each category can be given here.

But at last, while pursuing dolphins one day, it came in too close to land, got stuck in the mud, and was caught and killed by the local inhabitants.[6a] Seventy-five names, mainly of horses and dogs, allude to physical characteristics of various kinds. Speed is suggested by *Celer*, *Aeropates* or *Aeripes* ('Treading-on-Air'), *Rapidus*, *Advolans* ('Wings'), *Aether*, *Aquilinus* (Eagle), *Cursor* (Runner), *Dromus* (Racer), and *Volucer* (Flyer), the last being the name of a famous race-horse of the Greens, much beloved by the Emperor Lucius Verus, who carried a gold statuette of it about with him, fed it on grapes and nuts, instead of barley, and presented it with brightly coloured horse-cloths and a tomb on the Vatican Hill (*SHA*, *L. Verus*, 6, 3–4). General comeliness is referred to by such names as *Speciosus* and *Calimorfus* (Beauty), by *Eugrammus* (Shapely), *Exactus* (Perfect), and *Elegans*; lightness and agility by *Alleger* (= *Alacer*), *Agilis*, *Penna* (Feather), *Passerinus* (Sparrow), a famous horse mentioned twice by Martial (*Epigr.* 7, 7, 10 and 12, 36, 12), and *Incitatus* ('Bounce'). *Incitatus* was, of course, the name of the Emperor Caligula's favourite race-horse. Suetonius (*Cal.* 55) informs us that on the day before the races the Emperor posted soldiers in the neighbourhood to preserve silence, so that the creature's rest might not be disturbed. He gave it a marble stable, an ivory manger, purple horse-cloths, jewelled collars, and a *ménage* of its own, complete with slaves and furniture: he even considered it for the consulship. A horse *Incitatus* is also mentioned by Martial (*Epigr.* 11, 1, 16), and the name is found inscribed on a terra-cotta lamp. Strength is denoted by *Eutonus* (Sinewy), *Braciatus* (Brawny)—also the name of a bear, *Valens*, *Praevalens*, *Vitalis*, *Adamas* ('Cast-Iron'), *Alce* (Might), and *Rome* (Force), the last two being names for sheep-dogs. *Farus* (Lighthouse) and *Farius* (Lighthouse-like), *Phosphorus* (Morning-Star), *Pyripinus* (Fiery-Breath), *Pyrobolus* ('Flame-Thrower'), and *Lampas* suggest fiery breath or fiery eyes. *Aethon* (Flash), the name of Pallas' charger (*Aen.* 11, 89), may have been suggested by the horse of the sun-god's chariot, or by Hector's horse; or it may have been a name for a horse in use in Virgil's own day. Manes and beards are alluded to in such names as *Crinitus* ('Long-Locks'), *Cirratus* ('Curly-Locks'), *Reburrus* (Bristly), *Comatus* (Hairy), and *Barbatus*. Size is referred to in *Altus* ('Sky-Scraper'), *Pelorus* or *Pelorius* ('Monster'), *Adauctus* (Bulky), and *Kalathine* ('Midget'), that is, small enough to travel in a lady's hand-bag (*kalathos*)—this being the name of a tiny lap-dog (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 303). Appetite is denoted by *Rapax* and *Panchates* ('Boa-Constrictor'). *Rhaebus* ('Bandy-Legs'), the name of Mezentius' charger (*Aen.* 10, 861), may have been a contemporary name. *Hylax* (Barker) is an obvious name for a watch-dog (Virgil, *Ecl.* 8, 112) and for a hunting-dog (Orelli *ILS* 4730: from Pannonia). Words for weapons are also used as names descriptive of physique or bodily prowess. Race-horses are named *Sagitta* (Arrow), *Pugio* (Poignard), *Sica* (Dagger), *Canacis* (Sword), *Harpe* (Falchion)—a mare referred to by Silius Italicus (*Punica* 16, 366), *Spiculum* (Lance), and *Ballista* ('Cannon-Ball'). Dio Cassius (79, 7) tells us that the Emperor Caracalla kept pet lions, one of them named *Acinaces* (Rapier or Scimitar), which he used to fondle in public.

Psychological characteristics are described by such names, mostly of race-horses and dogs, as *Ferox* ('Hotspur'), *Paratus* and *Eustolus* (Ready), *Volens* (Willing), *Audax*, *Multivolus* (Eager), *Astutus* and *Argutus* (Cunning), *Castus*, *Fidelis* and *Pistus* ('Fido'), *Hilarus* and *Hilarinus*, *Virilis*, *Petulans*, *Temerarius* ('Hothead'), *Securus* ('Fancy-Free'),

[6a] This reference is owed to Prof. P. N. Ure.

Animator ('Life-and-Soul-of-the-Team'), *Inhumanus* (Brute), *Innox*, *Clemens*, *Pacificus*, *Spoude* (Zeal), and *Horme* (Impulse). A performing bear is named *Simplicius* (Frank); while *Certus* is possibly the name of a running boar on a gem—'sure and steady wins the race.'

Names of race-horses alluding to victory in the circus are, naturally, the most popular of all. We know of eighty-nine of these, one of which, *Hederatus* ('Ivy-Crowned'), also belongs to a hunting-dog successful in the field, while another, *Gloriosus*, is shared with a 'star' performing bear. Of course there is *Victor*, and several names compounded with *nike*—*Euthynicus*, *Hipponicus*, *Polynicus*, *Callinicus*, *Beronice*, *Olympionice*, *Nicolaus*, *Nicomedes*, *Nicephorus*, and *Nicepolemus*. *Palmatus*, *Hederatus*, *Laureatus*, *Decoratus*, *Radiatus* (Rayed), *Torquatus* (Collared), *Vittatus* (Filleted), and *Polystephanus* (Wreathed) suggest the decking of the victors. *Famosus*, *Inclytus*, *Polydoxus*, *Eucles*, *Gloriosus*, *Clarus*, *Praeclarus*, *Notatus*, *Eximius*, *Eminens*, *Excellens*, and *Exsuperus* denote their glory; *Felix*, *Felicissimus*, *Faustus*, and *Secundus* denote their good luck. *Hipparchus* (Lord-of-Steeds), *Iubilator*, *Derisor* ('Laugh-'em-down'), *Vindex*, *Percussor*, *Dominator*, and *Dictator* spell triumph over rivals: *Superbus* spells the winner's pride; while *Pertinax*, the name of a horse of the Greens favoured by the Emperor Commodus (Dio 74, 4), seems to mean 'Will-to-Victory.' And there are many others of the same category. Closely allied with these are the titles of honour, denoting rank or birth, given as names to race-horses—*Caesareus*, *Basilius*, *Regalis*, *Regnator*, *Tyrannus* and *Tyrannis*, *Patricius*, *Dignus*, *Eugenes*, and *Ingenuus*.

The most attractive names are the playful and endearing nouns and epithets. The examples quoted below are, unless otherwise stated, those of race-horses. The most obvious substantival names are *Amor*, *Cupido*, *Voluptas*, *Amicus*, *Alumnus* (Nursling), *Myrrha*, *Gemmula*, *Margarita*—also the name of a hunting-dog and of a pet dog, *Zmaragdus* (Emerald), *Gelos* (Laughter), and *Scintilla* (Spark). Among the more obvious epithets are *Amatus* (Beloved), *Adamatus* (Much-Beloved), *Amandus*, *Mirandus*, *Adorandus*, *Dilectus*, *Pretiosus*, *Divinus*, *Celestinus*, *Uranius*, *Theia* (Divine—a Roman pet dog's name: Kaibel, *op. cit.* no. 626), *Phile*, a pet-dog's name, *Blandus* (Coax), *Gemmatus*, *Delicatus* and *Delicatianus* ('Dandy'), *Paizon* (Sport), *Venustus* (Lovely), *Thelus* and *Puerina* ('Girly'), *Iuvenis* ('Laddy'), and *Anthaeretus* ('Choisi'). Some adjectival and substantival names of this class are playfully derogatory—*Luxuriosus* ('Sybarite'), *Licentiosus* ('Rake'), *Licentia* ('Rakishness'), *Fastidiosus* ('Choosey'), *Vagulus* (Vagabond), *Perfugus* (Runaway), *Garrulus* and *Verbosus* ('Chatterbox'), and *Improbus* (Rascal). Words denoting virtues are also found as pet-names. *Dicaeosyne* and *Elpis* (Justice and Hope) were race-horses and *Eirene* was a performing bear. Ammianus Marcellinus (29, 3, 9) tells us that the Emperor Valentinian I kept for the arena two particularly savage man-eating bears named *Innocentia* and *Mica Aurea* (Grain-of-Gold). He had their cages placed near his bedroom and posted guards to see that nothing was done to 'sabotage' their ferocity. Terms of abuse were also used playfully as names. Such are *Lues* (Pest), *Parasitus* ('Toady'), *Latro* (Thief), and *Leno* (Pander).

Thirty-four race-horse names are derived from the names of gods, heroes, etc. Among them are *Sol*, *Phoebus*, *Helios*, *Liber*, *Castor*, *Silvanus*, *Oceanus*, *Nereus*, *Alcides*, *Achilles*, *Aiax*, *Patroclus* (?), *Memnon*, *Pelops*, *Diomedes*, *Icarus*, *Daedalus*, *Andraemon*—a horse mentioned by Martial (*Epigr.* 10, 9, 5), *Argus*, *Heraclides*, *Admetus*, *Ganymedes*, *Titan*,

Centaurus, and *Romulus*. A bear rejoiced in the name of *Dionysos*. *Fedra* (= *Phaedra*) was a she-bear, *Andromache* a she-leopard. Of the mythological animals *Pegasos* and *Arion* naturally had race-horse namesakes.

Place-name epithets as names for race-horses number forty-seven. Examples are *Romanus*, *Italus*, *Latinus*, *Tuscus*, *Pompeianus*, *Baianus*, *Hirpinus*, *Seracusus*, *Hellenus*, *Hellenicus*, *Macedo*, *Gallus*, *Germanus*, *Germanicus*, *Helveticus*, *Saxo*, *Celtiberus*, *Baeticus*, *Valentinus* (from Valentia in Spain), *Maurus*, *Mauruscus*, *Tingitanus* (from Tingi in Mauretania), *Aegyptus*, *Aethiops*, *Indus*, *Armenius*, *Babylonius*, *Siricus*, *Tyrius*, *Sidonius*, *Libyus*, and *Lycius*. Similarly, *Lacon* (Spartan) is a sheep-dog's name, while the pet dog of L. Aemilius Paulus' little daughter was called *Persa* (Cicero, *De divinatione* 1, 46, 103). There are also five town-names—*Roma*, *Corinthus*, and *Panormus* (Palermo) for race-horses, *Bonna* for a hunting-dog, and *Alexandria* for another she-bear. Three race-horse names are the names of mountains—*Olympus*, *Caucasus*, and *Aracynthus*. Seven famous rivers have race-horse namesakes—*Tiberis*, *Eridanus* (Po), *Tagus*, *Danubius*, *Nilus*, which last is also the name of a bear, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, the latter being mentioned by Martial (*Epigr.* 7, 7, 10 and 12, 36, 12). The Emperor Hadrian's favourite hunter was called *Borysthenes* (Dnieper). The epitaph which the Emperor placed on its tomb (Dio 69, 10) was found at Apt in southern France (*CIL* XII, 1122; Bücheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* no. 1522). Plant-names are *Myrrhine* (Myrtle) for a pet dog (Lucian, *De mercede conductis* 34) and *Arbutus* (Strawberry-Tree) for a race-horse. One race-horse had the strange name of *Campus* (Field). Three race-horse names are derived from winds—*Aquilo* (North-Wind), *Circius* (North-West-Wind), and *Zephyrus*.

Both horses and dogs are named after a variety of other animals. We have *Leo*, *Tigris* (?), *Pardus*, *Lupus*, *Bubalus* (Gazelle), *Capria* (Roe), *Capriolus* (Roebuck), and *Catta* (Puss) for race-horses, *Cervus*, *Lupus*, *Lycisca* (Wolfling: Virgil, *Ecl.* 3, 18), and *Tigris* for sheep-dogs, *Mustela* (Weasel) for a hunting-dog, and *Taurus* for a Maltese lap-dog, a sharp-eyed yapper, if Tymnes, the author of its epitaph, may be placed in the imperial age (*Anth. Pal.* 7, 211). On the other hand, a sheep-dog and a watch-dog were called just 'Pup' (*Scylax*). The bird and insect worlds were also drawn upon. *Passer* (Sparrow), *Aquila*, *Acceptor* (Hawk), *Palumbus* (Dove), *Perdix* (Partridge), *Purpurio* (Coot), and *Phoenix* are all race-horse names; so are *Melissa* (Bee) and *Pyrallis* (Fire-Fly). *Myia* (Fly) and *Acris* (Grasshopper) were pet-dogs (Bücheler, *op. cit.* no. 1512; *Inscr. Gr.* 14, no. 1360).

Eighteen race-horse names are playfully derived from professions and occupations. Among these are *Iudex*, *Advocatus* (Counsel), *Patronus* (Barrister), *Scholasticus* (Student), *Director* (Superintendent), *Nomothetes* (Legislator), *Pontifex*, *Augur*, *Consul*, *Proconsul*, *Cynagus*, and *Venator* (Hunter), *Halieus* (Fisherman), *Agricola*, *Arator* (Ploughman), *Nauta*, *Elates* (Charioteer), and *Viator*. Other race-horses are called by well-known proper-names, such as *Marcus*, *Domitius*, *Roscius* (the famous actor), *Aristides*, *Darius*, *Socrates*, *Antiochus*, *Iuba*, and *Masinissa* (kings of Numidia). A bear was called *Solon* and a hunting-dog *Iulius*. One race-horse was called after an inanimate object—*Obeliscus*. The writer has also listed twenty-one miscellaneous names of race-horses, one of a pet dog, and one of a leopard, which she has so far failed to explain and classify.

Lastly, we come to the named ass *Nikon*, who cannot be fitted into any of these categories. It was not the winner in a donkey-race, as its name might suggest: its

honours were vicariously earned, as Plutarch in his *Life* of Mark Antony (65) explains. On the morning of the battle of Actium Octavian slipped out of his tent, just before dawn, to take a look at his fleet. On the way he met a peasant driving a donkey. 'What is your name?' he enquired of the man. Whereat the cunning rustic, recognizing Octavian (γνωρίσας αὐτόν) and knowing well what was afoot, promptly replied: 'My name is *Eutyches* (Lucky) and my donkey's name is *Nikon* (Victor).' Suetonius (*Div. Aug.* 96) recounts the incident among the many omens *quibus futura magnitudo eius et perpetua felicitas sperari animadvertique posset* (94): and there can be little doubt that Octavian himself interpreted it as such, since he had bronze statues of man and beast erected on the spot. But the earlier and fuller version of Plutarch suggests that some believed that the propitious names were a brilliant improvisation.

II

We now turn to the portraits, preserved for us in Roman-age works of art, of named race-horses, dogs, boars, bears, bulls, and other beasts.

The most impressive work of art showing race-horses in action is the marble monument set up in Constantinople in honour of the charioteer Porphyrios (*c.* A.D. 490).[7] It is decorated with relief-sculptures on all four sides. Porphyrios himself appears on the front, and on each of the sides and on the back is a four-horse chariot. Each of the twelve steeds has its name in Greek. On the north-east side the names Νικοπόλεμος (Victor), Ῥαδιᾶτος (Rayed), Πύῤῥος (Redcoat), and Εὐθύνικος ('Win-at-once') are inscribed above the horses' heads; so on the south-west side are the names Ἁλιεύς (Fisherman), Ἀνθύπατος (Proconsul), Κυναγός (Hunter), and Πελώριος (Monster). On the back the four names Ἀριστ⟨ε⟩ίδης, Παλαιστινιάρχης (Lord-of-Palestine, a place-name), Πύῤῥος, and Εὐθύνικος are inscribed on a kind of pedestal below: below, again, are six unnamed horses, led along by grooms.

The funerary *cippus* in red marble, now in the Palazzo Ducale at Urbino, of Titus Flavius Abascantus, described as *a cognitionibus*, an imperial judicial functionary, shows the deceased partaking of a celestial banquet above, and, below, Scorpus, a famous charioteer of Domitian's day, mentioned several times by Martial (*Epigr.* 4, 67, 5; 5, 25, 10; 10, 53, 1; 10, 74, 5; 11, 1, 16), driving his victorious team (Pl. II, 3).[8] Just below the main inscription we read the names of charioteer and steeds:—*Scorpus Ingenuo Admeto Passerino Atmeto* ('Scorpus wins with Ingenuus, Admetus, Passerinus, and Atmetus (=unravaged or unconquered)'). Victors in the circus were regarded as winning immortality by their prowess; and the presence of Scorpus and his team on a tombstone is explained by M. Cumont as a symbol of victory over death.

A large mosaic at Barcelona shows four four-horse chariots racing in the circus (Pl. II, 4).[9] The team on the extreme left has come to grief: only two of the horses themselves are preserved, but the names of all four can be read above—*Botrocales* (=*Patroclus*?), *Scholasticus* (Student), *Regnator* (Emperor), and *Famosus* (Renown). Of the next team the horses are mostly gone, but their names remain—*Pyripinus* (Fiery-Breath), *Arpastus*,

[7] *Ath. Mitt.* 1880, pl. 16.

[8] F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains*, pl. 45.

[9] *Annali del'Inst.* 1863, pl. D; de Lozoya, *Historia del arte hispánica*, I, 1931, pl. 12 (= the right-hand end of the mosaic shown in colour); G. Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel*, 1935, Textabbildung 12.

Euphrates, and *Eustolus* (Ready). Of the third team only the last few letters of the names are left. The fourth, and presumably victorious, team is complete, names and all: these are *Eridanus* (Po), *Spumosus* (Foam or Froth), *Pelops*, and *Luxuriosus* ('Sybarite'). On the flanks of the horses of the second and third teams is inscribed *Concordi*: on the front horse of the fourth team we read *Niceti*. Concordius and Nicetus were, presumably, the owners of the teams. On the extreme right are two men—*hortatores*—waving cloths and other objects to encourage the steeds. The upper *hortator* seems to be shouting 'Eridanus,' the name of the left-hand outer horse of the leading team. The best horse of a team was always placed in this position, since it was that horse's skill in getting round the turning-post which often determined the victory. The race started, of course, on the right-hand side of the *meta*.

During the second half of the last century there came to light on the Via Flaminia, about nine miles north of Rome, a mosaic showing a two-horse chariot race (Pl. I, 2).[10] Above is a galloping horseman, holding a wreath, preceded by a *hortator* (?) with a whip. The words which the horseman seems to be uttering are inscribed above him: they read *Liber nica* ('Liber, win'), an entertaining mixture, it would appear, of Latin and Greek. Over the right-hand *biga* below we read *Ilarinus Olypio*, that is, 'Hilarinus is racing with the horse Olympius': over the right-hand *biga* is written *L. . . . . omano*, which can be restored without difficulty as ' Liber is racing with the horse Romanus.' It is, of course, possible that *Liber nica* means, not 'Liber, win,' but 'Liber is racing with the horse Nica.' Such an interpretation was advanced by Mommsen for *Garamanti nica* and *Genti nica* in *CIL* VI, ii, 10058 and for *Leaeni nica* in *CIL* VI, ii, 10070; and Νείκη is known as the name of a hunting-dog (*vide infra* p. 33). But as in our mosaic the horseman is surely a spectator of, not a participant in, the race, and as the name of the leading charioteer, beginning with L, can be best restored as *Liber*, the present writer prefers the first interpretation. This interpretation is further supported by a large mosaic in the Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme (Aula VI), found on the Via Imperiale in 1939. It shows eight *quadrigae* racing in the circus, with charioteers and horses named. The victorious charioteer is distinguished by a palm: his name is in the vocative case, *Aeri* (the other charioteers' names being in the nominative), and is followed by the word *nik*[*a*]; while the name of one of his horses is in the ablative case, *Italo* (S. Aurigemma, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano* (*Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia*, 78, 1946), p. 34, 83 (124705)).

We now come to the North African mosaics portraying race-horses.

A fragmentary mosaic from Dougga, the ancient Thugga, in Tunisia shows a charioteer, *Eros*, with the caption *omnia per te*, driving a four-horse team in the circus. Two of the horses are named—*Amandus* (Darling) and *Frunitus* (Jolly) (Pl. III, 5).[11]

A number of mosaics show race-horses off duty. One was found at Cherchel, the ancient Iol Caesarea, in Algeria (Pl. III, 6),[12] and shows a race-horse standing to the right. Above is its name, *Muccosus*, inscribed between two ivy-leaves, while on its flank can be read *Pr*(*asinus*) *Cl. Sabini*. It is, in fact, a portrait of 'Snuffler' (?), or 'Slobberer' (?), of the Greens, owned by Claudius Sabinus. A second is from a villa at Sousse, the

[10] *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei* 1879, pl. 2

[11] *Inventaire des mosaiques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique* II 540.

[12] *Ibid.* III, 417; *Bull. arch. du Comité* 1906, pl. 13, no. 2.

ancient Hadrumetum, in Tunisia.[13] It shows two pairs of race-horses at rest, with an *Amor*, holding a garland, hovering above the back of each horse. We can read their names—*Campus* (Field), *Dilectus* (Pet), *Hipparchus* (Chief), and *Patricius* (Noble). *Patricius* and *Campus* have the name of the owner, *Sorothi*, inscribed on the flank. The two horses in each pair face one another from either side of a palm-tree, and in the centre of the picture are rocks, with shrubs and grazing goats. Another mosaic from the same villa, probably by the same hand, represents an African landscape with four medallions, each of which originally contained the portraits of two race-horses confronting one another from either side of a palm-tree; but the right-hand horse in each of the medallions on the right-hand side has disappeared (Pl. III, 7).[14] Each horse has its name—*Amor* (Love), *Dominator* ('Boss'), *Adorandus* (Angel), *Crinitus* (Long-Locks), *Ferox* ('Hot-spur'), and *Pegasus*. Again, four of the existing six horses have the name of the same owner, *Sorothi*, inscribed on the flank. On a mosaic from Ferryville in Tunisia we have the portraits of two race-horses, *Diomedes* and *Alcides*, tethered on either side of a post (or tree?) (Pl. V, 10).[15] A mosaic, found at Constantine, the ancient Cirta, in Algeria and subsequently destroyed, showed six race-horses even more decidedly off duty (Pl. IV, 8).[16] At the top were the villa and stables of the horses' owner, Pompeianus. In the upper row, on the left, was *Altus* ('Sky-Scraper') with the caption *unus es, ut mons exultas* ('you're only one, but you're proud as a mountain'). Next came *Pullentianus* (Dusky?); and on the right was *Delicatus* ('Dandy'). In the lower row, on the left, stood *Polidoxus* (Renown), with the touching caption *vincas, non vincas, te amamus, Polidoxe* ('whether you win or lose, we love you, Polidoxus'). Some Romans, at least, loved their beasts, as we love ours, for their own sake. In the centre was *Titas* (Titan) and, finally, on the right, *Scholasticus* (Student). It should be explained that the attractive mangers were not in the original mosaic, but are a flight of the copyist's fancy.

The last mosaic in our race-horse series is from Medeina in Tunisia and reveals three steeds, *Ferox*, *Icarus*, and *Cupido* ('Sweetheart'), in a transport-ship, presumably on their way to or from the races. Lest there should be any mistake, the word 'horse-transport' is written twice over below, once in Latin (*hippago*) and once in Greek (ἱππαγωγός) (Pl. IV, 9).[17]

Of the twenty-four contorniate designs, reproduced in Professor Alföldi's *Die Kontorniaten*, which record the names of race-horses two examples must suffice here. One type (*op. cit.* pl. 64, nos. 2–4, 7, 8, 10) shows a charioteer leading two horses by their bridles (Pl. VI, 12). Below are written their names—*Turificator* and *Astutus*. Professor Alföldi interprets these names as concealing anti-Christian propaganda and would read them together as signifying 'the crafty incense-offerer,' that is, the pagan who offers incense to the gods on the sly (*op. cit.* p. 66). It is true that neither of these names appears elsewhere in the sources for the names of race-horses known to the present writer. But *Astutus* has its parallels in *Argutus* and *Derisor*, denoting cunning steeds who have the laugh over their fellow competitors (*CIL* VIII, 12508). As for *Turificator*—it may be a kind of joke, like *Pontifex* and *Augur*; or it may even mean 'Snorter,' alluding to the animal's steaming breath. A second contorniate type portrays a charioteer, *Eugenius*,

[13] *Inventaire, etc.*, 124.
[14] *Ibid.* II, 126.
[15] *Bull. arch. du Comité* 1906, pl. 21.
[16] *Ibid.* pl. 20.
[17] *Ibid.* pl. 8.

driving a *quadriga*, the four horses of which are respectively named *Achilles*, *Sidereus*, *Speciosus*, and *Dignus* (*op. cit.* pls. 62, no. 1; 63, no. 1) (Pl. VI, 13). Professor Alföldi would see in these names a reference to the pagan puppet-Emperor Eugenius, 'der Achilles, der himmlische, herrliche, würdige' (*loc. cit.*). But *Achilles* (which, oddly enough, he regards as a strange name for a race-horse), *Sidereus*, and *Dignus* all occur elsewhere as horse-names (Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, nos. 159, 161, 165; *CIL* VI, 10056; VIII, 12504; VIII, 12508); and *Speciosus* finds a parallel in *Calimorfus* (*Eph. Epig.* III, p. 202, no. 177).

Six ivory *tesserae lusoriae* (or draught-counters?), found in 1939 in a child's sarcophagus near S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia, just south of Rome, each show on the obverse a named charioteer and on the reverse a named race-horse. For example, *Amicus* ('Pal') is decked with a palm-branch and has the name of its owner, *Antoni*, inscribed on its flank (Alföldi, *op. cit.* pl. 74, 1a) (Pl. VI, 14). Another portrays *Pyrobolus* ('Flame-Thrower') also wearing a palm-branch and adorned with a solar-disc, a symbol of good luck, over its forelegs (*ibid.* pl. 75, 2a) (Pl. VI, 15).

A terra-cotta lamp in the British Museum shows the triumphal progress of a victorious race-horse, *Roma* (Pl. V, 11).[18] On a gem, a heliotrope, we see the race-horse *Tiberis*, proudly bearing its palm (Pl. VI, 16).[19] Some of the lead *tesserae* found in Rome, once used as entrance-tickets for the games, are stamped with the figure of a race-horse on the one side and its name on the other. One shows *Eustolus* (Ready)—we read ЄVC on the reverse; another *Sacratus* ('Holy')—a solemn name used playfully, and a third *Romulus* (Pl. VI, 17–19).[20]

We will conclude our survey of this equine portrait-gallery with a bone knife-handle (Pl. VII, 20).[21] On one side are the cap, whip, and name, *Euprepes*, of a charioteer. On the other side is a horse's head, with its palm and name, *Nereo*. The meaning of the inscription is 'Euprepes has won with the horse Nereus.'

A mosaic pavement in the baths near the Porta Romana at Ostia shows four studies of mules, in two of which the animals are named. In one scene a man is leading *Pudes* ('Bashful') and *Podagrosus* ('Gouty') by the bridle; in another, *Potiscus* ('Thirsty-Fish') and *Barosus* ('Mollycoddle'?) are drinking side by side (Pl. VII, 21).[22]

We now turn to the canine world, beginning with hunting-dogs from North Africa.

A mosaic from Constantine in Algeria shows an antelope-hunt in full swing. There are ten hunters, five mounted and five on foot. The quarry is being rounded up into netted enclosures. In the upper zone is the dog *Fidelis* in action, while *Castus* is at work in the central zone (Pl. VIII, 22).[23] On another mosaic, from Oudna, the ancient Uthina in Tunisia, are portrayed three huntsmen, two on horseback and one on foot, and two hounds, *Ederatus* (Ivy-Crowned) and *Mustela* (Weasel), hard on the heels of a hare and a fox (Pl. VIII, 23).[24]

A Thessalian grave-relief shows the deceased, Rufus, on horseback twice over (Pl. IX, 24).[25] Above, he appears with a dog chasing a hare: the inscription reads Ιούλιος ὁ συνκαμώ⟨ν⟩ μοι—'my colleague, Julius.' Below, we see him with two hunting-dogs, Νείκη and Λάδας, also hot in pursuit of a hare: each dog has its name inscribed above

[18] Walters, *Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum*, pl. 23, no. 788.
[19] King, *Handbook of Ancient Gems*, p. 113.
[20] Rostowzew, *Tesserarum Sylloge*, pl. 5.
[21] *Bulletino Comunale* 1876, pl. 21, 2.
[22] Photo. Anderson 27269 Ostia.
[23] *Bull. arch. du Comité*, 1906, pl. 19.
[24] *Inventaire etc.* II, 375.
[25] Y. Béquignon, *Recherches archéologiques à Phères de Thessalie*, 1937, pp. 92–94, no. 69, pl. 23.

it. Ladas was the name of a famous Spartan runner (Pausanias 3, 21, 1); and from allusions in Catullus, Seneca, Martial, and Juvenal it is clear that he was regarded as a kind of personification of swiftness of foot. Under the forelegs of the horse we read its name, Ἀπολλωνίς. Μούρδων of Pergamon, the gladiator's dog, is seated, with paw raised, between two crowns below the epitaph on the tombstone of its master, Chresteinos. Under its paw there appears to be a hand, with thumb up. Μούρδων is probably to be connected with *mordeo*; and we might translate the name by 'Holdfast,' or 'Grip'. (Pl. IX, 25).[26]

No picture is available of the pet dog *Parthenope* of Mytilene, who is carved in relief on her own tombstone. She reclines on a kind of bed; and below is her epitaph, in verse. She earned her fine tomb by her loving devotion to her master; and in the last two lines the poet exhorts canine passers-by to imitate *Parthenope* and win a similar reward.[27]

In the Columbarium of the Vigna Codini on the Via Appia, just inside the walls of Rome, we find what appears to be the tombstone of a Roman pet dog (Pl. X, 27). There she stands, carved in low relief on a marble slab, about a foot long, beneath a niche, in a most lifelike attitude, with ears pricked, forepaw raised, and upward curling tail. The epitaph reads *Synoris glucon deliciu(m)*—'Synoris, sweet pet,' again a delicious jumble of Latin and Greek. *Synoris*, of course, means literally ' pair': but it had become a Greek proper-name, and is known as the name of a courtesan and of a ship and as the title of a play by the Greek comic writer Diphilus. Dogs, unaccompanied by human beings, occur not infrequently, as is well known, on Roman tombstones as symbols of fidelity: and it is possible that here *Synoris* is the name, not of the dog, but of a favourite baby slave-girl. A fragmentary tombstone at Narbonne shows a seated dog with the inscription *Cytheris l(iberta)*.[28] All the same, we cannot contemplate the *Synoris* stone without recalling Martial's well-known poem (*Epigr.* 1, 109)—too well known to be quoted here in full—on the pet dog *Issa* ('Missy'),[29] whose portrait her owner, Publius, either painted himself, or caused to be painted, as a memento:—

hanc ne lux rapiat suprema totam,
picta Publius exprimit tabella,
in qua tam similem videbis Issam.
ut sit tam similis sibi nec ipsa.
Issam denique pone cum tabella:
aut utramque putabis esse veram,
aut utramque putabis esse pictam. (17–23).

In fact, a whole series of literary and epigraphical references to named pet dogs comes to mind in this connexion. Martial has another epigram (11, 69) on *Lydia*, a huntress by profession, but much petted by her owners, amphitheatre-managers:—

amphitheatrales inter nutrita magistros
venatrix, silvis aspera, blanda domi,
Lydia dicebar.

She was, as the poet tells us, 'Haus-Engel, Wald-Teufel,' if we may so adapt the familiar saying. Alas! she met her death by the tusk of a boar on the hunting-field. A

[26] M. Fraenkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon* II, 577.
[27] *Bull. Corresp. Hellen.* 1880, p. 494; *Inscr. Gr.* 12, ii, no. 459.
[28] Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* I, p. 456, no. 770.
[29] *Issus* was used in Roman baby-language for the pronoun *ipse*.

touching Greek inscription on a square cinerary urn found near Frascati reads Ἀκρίδι κυναρίῳ—'To Grasshopper, tiny doggie' (*Inscr. Gr.* 14, no. 1360). Two charming Greek epigrams of late republican times have immortalised two hunting-dogs. Antipater of Sidon tells us of *Lampon* (Flash), who was overcome with thirst in the chase. It dug frantically with its paws in a damp piece of ground: but the sluggish water did not come to the surface in time, and the dog fell dead with exhaustion before it burst forth (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 417). Antipater of Thessalonica writes of the Cretan hunting-bitch *Gorgo*, who prayed to Artemis as goddess both of the chase and of childbirth and was safely delivered of nine pups while slaying her quarry (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 268). Bücheler's *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* contains several delightful epigrams, culled from inscriptions, on canine friends. No. 1512 tells us of *Myia* ('Fly'), *dulcis* and *benigna*,

quae cum viveret in sinu iacebat
somni conscia semper et cubilis.

Then there is *Patrice* of Salerno (No. 1176), who used to kiss her master, snuggle up against his neck, and lick round the dishes from her perch on his knee at meal-times. Again, we have *Margarita*, whose epitaph (No. 1175), now in the British Museum, was found in Rome. Although trained for the hunt, she was also greatly petted. She was never chained up, nor did her snow-white body ever feel the lash:—

verbera nec niveo corpore saeva pati;

but she slept on her master's or mistress's lap:—

molli namque sinu domini dominaeque iacebam.

She could almost talk:—

et plus quam licuit muto canis ore loquebar.

But in the end she died in whelp:—

sed iam fata subi partu iactata sinistro.

These dog-poems surely suggest that the ancient Roman differed little from the modern Englishman in his love of pets.

According to *SHA. Hadr.* (20, 12) Hadrian *equos et canes sic amavit ut eis sepulcra constitueret*. And the writer is disposed to believe that the little dogs nestling beside the *gisants* figures of Roman imperial funerary art were not mere emblems of the fidelity of the deceased to spouse or friends, but real pets; and that the same applies to their mediaeval and Renaissance counterparts. A bas-relief in the Lateran Museum, found in the burial-ground of the Volusii in Rome, shows the half-draped recumbent figure of a wealthy and well-fed Flavian lady, Ulpia Epigona (Pl. IX, 26). Beneath her left armpit is ensconced what M. Cumont charmingly characterizes as 'un petit spitz'—surely her beloved pet.[30] M. Cumont suggests (*op. cit.* p. 403) that the pagan dogs, at any rate, were thought of as penetrating to the other world to join their masters or mistresses.

To return to named dogs, a less attractive *Margarita* was the black puppy (*nigra catella*) belonging to Croesus, the boy friend of Trimalchio. Petronius (*Sat.* 64) describes her as 'indecently fat' (*indecenter pinguis*) and recounts how, on the occasion of the famous

[30] Cumont, *op. cit.* pl. 42, no. 2. Unfortunately, some mischance has blunted the nozzle of the 'petit spitz.'

cena, she was nearly gobbled up by Trimalchio's monstrous watch-dog *Scylax* (Pup), introduced by the host to his guests as *praesidium domus familiaeque*. Croesus' *Margarita* reminds us of the greedy Maltese lap-dog Πλαγγών ('Dolly'), whose death in the very act of stealing the joint is described in one of Alciphron's letters (*Epp.* 2, 19, 3). These letters are, of course, fictitious: but we may be reasonably sure that Πλαγγών was a real contemporary lap-dog's name in the second or third century A.D.

A gem, a nicolo, in the Lewis Collection belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, shows a boar running towards the right (Pl. X, 28).[31] Above and below the animal is inscribed the word CER/TVS. When a name occurs in the nominative case on a gem in association with a device to which it cannot possibly refer, then it looks as if the name were that of the gem's owner. But here *Certus* ('Sure-and-Steady') could refer to the animal: and the analogy of the race-horse heliotrope, on which the name *Tiberis* is certainly that of the horse (*vide supra* p. 33), supports the present writer's view that this gem, if genuine, provides us with a boar's name. We observe how closely the inscription is associated with the beast, which comes right in the middle of it. We know from another source that Roman-age boars were given personal names.

Another gem, a heliotrope, known to the writer from a drawing alone, shows the performing bear *Eirene* with her trainer Marcellus (Pl. X, 29).[32] Marcellus carries a whip, and holds aloft what seems to be a succulent joint. The gem-engraver wishes him 'good luck' with his pupil, to which a tail has been erroneously attached.

More entertaining still is a North African mosaic from Rades, the ancient Maxula, in Tunisia (Pl. X, 30).[33] It portrays a troupe of performing bears. The names of six of them are preserved—*Nilus*, *Fedra*, *Alecsandria*, *Simplicius* (Frank), *Gloriosus*, and *Braciatus* (Brawny). *Fedra* is swarming up a pole, while the rest are sporting with boars, bulls, and birds. Bears predominate on a fascinating mosaic at Cos, which appears to be unpublished and of which, unfortunately, no photograph is as yet available.[34] Its subject is a *venatio*. Sixteen *bestiarii*, fourteen of whom are named, are contending with eighteen beasts, sixteen of which are named—seven bears, three boars, four bulls, one leopard, one stag, one seal, and an unspecified beast named Πάρδος. All the names are in Greek. Of the six named bears two are called Νωρική (a place-name), one Δρακόντις (the name of a bird), one Διόνυσος, one Ξανθίας (a proper-name), and one Ταχινή (Swift). The three boars are called Γοργόνις (a proper-name), Πολυνείκης (Victor), and Σόλων. The three named bulls are Ἀέρις ('Airy-Fairy'), Ἀρκοδάμας (Bear-Slayer), and Σταδιάρχης (King-of-the-Stadium). The leopard is called Ἀνδρομάχη the stag Ἔρως, and the seal Εὔπλοια (Fair-Sailing). Two of the *bestiarii* are mounted on hunters, one of which is named Φίλων.

A fragmentary mosaic at Carthage shows two more named bears—*Crudelis* and *Omicida*.[35] The latter name suggests the possibility that the inscription on the famous Venus-pavement at Rudston, Yorkshire—TAVRVS OMICIDA—records the creature's name and means, not 'the man-slaying bull,' but 'the bull Homicide' (Pl. XI, 31).[36]

Four more named leopards—*Rapidus*, *Fulgentius*, *Gabatius*, and *Fur . . . u*— (?)—

[31] J. H. Middleton, *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings*, p. 74, no. 166.

[32] *Le gemme antiche figurate di Leonardo Agustini*, 1669, V, pl. 32.

[33] *Inventaire etc.* II, suppl. 511a; G. Tennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*, p. 27.

[34] L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*, p. 191, no. 191a, C.

[35] *Mon. Piot* 34, 1934, pp. 129–130, fig. 1.

[36] *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1934, pl. 10.

appear in a *venatio*-scene painted on the south-west wall of the room with two apses in the extra-mural baths at Lepcis Magna (Pl. XI, 32).

So much for the beasts the names of which we know. We wish that we knew the names of many more besides—including the Emperor Domitian's fish, which, according to Martial (*Epigr.* 4, 30, 6–7), came swimming up when their master called them by name; and the tame seals (*vituli*), which, according to Pliny (*NH* 9, 41), responded to training (*accipiunt disciplinam*), greeted the people with noises and bows, and when called by name answered with a hoarse roar.

J. M. C. Toynbee

THE PALEOGRAPHY OF LATIN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE EIGHTH, NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES IN ITALY

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FOREWORD

The material for this study was collected in 1934 and 1935. The indication of the position of particular inscriptions refers therefore to that date.

I have to acknowledge the kindness of Professor Angelo Silvagni in helping me when I first began this study and now for allowing his photographs to be used in this publication; also the courtesy of the many priests and museum directors who allowed me to study and to take squeezes of the inscriptions under their care, and in particular of Commendatore R. Orsini of the Museo Provinciale Campano. I should like too to pay tribute to the memory of Mrs. Arthur Strong, without whose help and encouragement I could hardly have begun my work.

NICOLETTE GRAY

November, 1946.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOK AND PERIODICAL TITLES

Baronius	C. Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, 1601–8.
Bianchi	*De Gestis Langobardorum Pauli Diaconi*. Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script*, vol. I, 1723, ed. with notes by H. Blancus.
Bertaux	E. Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale*, 1904.
Billo	L. Billo, *Le Iscrizioni Veronesi*. Archivio Veneto, 1934.
Cabrol et Leclercq	Cabrol et Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne*, 1907, etc.

Cappelletti . . . G. Cappelletti, *Le chiese d'Italia dalla loro origine sino ai nostri giorni*, 1844–70.

Cattaneo . . . . R. Cattaneo, *L'Architecture en Italie du VI^e au XI^e siècle*, 1890 (French edition).

C.I.L. . . . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 1863, etc.

Cipolla . . . . C. Cipolla, *Museo Nazionale di Ravenna*, in *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane, Notizie e documenti*. An. III, 1897.

de Rossi . . . G. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 1861–88.

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Di Meo . . . . A. di Meo, *Annali Critico-Diplomatici del Regno di Napoli*, 1797–1819.

Duchesne . . . L. Duchesne, introduction and commentary to *Liber Pontificalis*, *q.v.*

Dufresne . . . Dufresne, *Les cryptes vaticanes*, 1902.

Forcella . . . . V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano*, 1889–93. 12 vols.

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Galletti . . . . P. L. Galletti, *Inscriptiones Romanae infimi aevi Romae exstantes*, 1760.

Garrucci . . . R. Garrucci, *Storia della Arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli*, 1872–80.

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Haseloff . . . . A. Haseloff, *Pre-Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*, 1930.

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Liber Pontificalis . . *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 1886. *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*. 2^e serie.

Mabillon, *Ann.* . . . J. Mabillon, *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*, 1703–39.

Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* . . J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, 1687, of which vol. I, pp. 3–244, comprises the *Iter Italicum Litterarium*.

Marini . . . . G. L. Marini, *I Papiri Diplomatici raccolti ed illustrati*, 1805.

Marini-Mai . . . A. Mai. *Scriptorum veterum Nova Collectio*, vol. V, 1831, in which the MSS collection of inscriptions of Marini was published.

Marucchi { *Eléments* . . O. Marucchi, *Eléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, 3 vols., 1899–1903.
Basiliques . . (Being vol. III of the *Eléments*).
Mus. Crist. Lat. . O. Marucchi, *I Monumenti del Museo cristiano Pio-Lateranense*, 1910.

M.G.H. Script. Rer. Lang. . *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec.* VI–IX, 1878.

M.G.H. Poet. Lat. . . *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetae Latini aevi carolini*, 1880–1923.

Monneret de Villard . . U. Monneret de Villard, *Iscrizioni cristiane della provincia di Como anteriori al secolo XI*.

Muratori { *Thes.* . . L. A. Muratori, *Novus Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*, vol. IV, 1742.
Antiq. . . L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italiae Medii Aevi*, 1738–42.
Ann. . . L. A. Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, 1744–49, 12 vols.
Rer. Ital. Script. . L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 25 vols., 1723–25.

Pellegrino . . . C. Pellegrino, *Historia Principium Langobardorum*, 1732, in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* vol. II.

Pellegrino-Pratilli . . C. Pellegrino, *Historia Principium Langobardorum*, ed. F. M. Pratilli, 1749–54.

Rivoira . . . G. T. Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture*, 1910.

Robolini . . . G. Robolini, *Notizie di Pavia*, 1823–38.

Rohault de Fleury . . C. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe, études archéologiques sur ses monuments*, 1883.

Sarti et Settele . . E. Sarti et J. Settele, *Ad Dionysii opus de Vaticanis cryptis*, 1840.

Schneider . . . F. Schneider, *Die Epitaphien der Päpste und anderer stadtrömischen Inscriften des Mittelalters, Texte zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 1932.

Silvagni	A. Silvagni, *Monumenta Epigraphica Christiana.* In progress.
Toesca	P. Toesca, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana,* vol. I. *Il Medioevo,* 1927.
Torrigio	Torrigio, *Le Sacre Grotte Vaticane,* 1635.
Troya	C. Troya, *Storia d'Italia,* 1839–59.
Ughelli	F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra,* 1644–62.
Ughelli-Coleti	F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra,* ed. N. Coleti, 1717–22.

PERIODICALS

Arch. Paleog. Ital.	*Archivio paleographico italiano.*
Arch. R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Pat.	*Archivio della r. Società Romano di Storia Patria.*
Arch. Stor. Ital.	*Archivio storico italiano.*
Arch. Stor. Lomb.	*Archivio storico lombardo.*
Arch. Stor. d'Arte	*Archivio storico dell'Arte.*
Arch. Ven.	*Archivio veneto.*
Atti. Acc. Verona	*Atti della accademia d'agricoltura, scienze, lettere, arti e commercio di Verona.*
Atti R. Dep. Stor. Pat. Prov. Mod.	*Atti e memorie della r. deputazione di storia patria per le provincie modenesi.*
Atti Soc. Ligure di Stor. Pat..	*Atti della società ligure di storia patria.*
Atti R. Dep. Stor. Pat. Romagna	*Atti e memorie della r. deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna.*
Bibl. Soc. Stor. Subalpina	*Biblioteca della società storica subalpina.*
Boll. d'Arte	*Bollettino d'Arte.*
Bull. Arch. Crist.	*Bullettino di archeologia cristiana.*
Bull. Comm. Arch.	*Bullettino della Commissione archeologica municipale di Roma.*
Bull. Mon.	*Bulletin monumental*
Diss. Acc. Pont.	*Dissertazione della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia.*
Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire.*
Mem. Acc. Modena	*Memorie della r. Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti in Modena.*
Mem. Istit. Ven.	*Memorie del r. Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti.*
Mem. Stor. Forogiuliese	*Memorie storice forogiuliese.*
Mém. Ac. Inscr.	*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.*
N. Bull. Arch. Crist.	*Nuovo Bullettino di archeologia cristiana.*
N. Arch. Ven.	*Nuovo Archivio veneto.*
Not. Sc.	*Notizie degli Scavi.*
Rend. Acc. Pont.	*Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.*
Rev. Art Chrét.	*Revue de l'art chrétien.*
Riv. Arch. Crist..	*Rivista di archeologia cristiana.*
Riv. Stor. Bened.	*Rivista storica benedettina.*
Röm. Quartalsch.	*Römische Quartalschrift.*
Stu. Rom.	*Studi Romani.*

Note on Alphabets

In a few cases, indicated by the signs below, it was not possible to make drawings from the inscriptions themselves.
* Drawn from reproduction or photograph, because inscription not seen.
† Drawn from reproduction or photograph, because inscription inaccessible.
‡ Drawn from squeeze or cast.

I

The inscriptions of Christian, Lombard and Carolingian Italy have been collected and studied continuously almost from the date of their execution until the present day. This accumulation of secondary sources over a period of a thousand years has rendered the complication of the subject extreme.

The history of the clarification and scientific arrangement of Christian epigraphy in Italy begins with the work of de Rossi in the second half of the last century. He separated, and was therefore able to co-ordinate, the study of the inscriptions themselves, and the study of the collections of inscriptions. The first collection of Roman inscriptions possibly dates back to the end of the V century, and was of classical material;

the collections of Christian inscriptions begin in the VII century. A very considerable number of these early collections survive, many of them, however, in quite late manuscripts, and the majority obviously compilations from other collections. In the second volume of his *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, 1888, de Rossi published the series of manuscripts *in quibus veteres inscriptiones christianae praesertim urbis Romae, sive solae sive ethnicis admixtae descriptae sunt ante saeculum XVI.* The preface to the volume and the individual commentaries on the manuscripts contain a profound discussion of the material.[1] Working on the basis of the researches of de Rossi, Professor Angelo Silvagni has evolved a rather different, and historically very significant theory of the nature of these early epigraphical collections, which he published in 1921. In his Dissertation to the Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, *Nuovo ordinamento delle sillogi epigrafiche di Roma anteriori al secolo XI* and in a different form in the '*Conspectus Auctorum*' in his continuation to the *Inscriptiones Christianae* published in 1922, he reduces the original collections to two—one compiled about the middle of the VII century, probably by an Anglo-Saxon, consisting of the inscriptions of the cemeteries and basilicas of Rome and added or inserted into an itinerary of sacred monuments; the second compiled by a Carolingian scholar in the second half of the IX century and consisting of the inscriptions of St. Peter's and the Civitas Leonina only, arranged topographically. He attributes the other early collections to the activity in the VII and early VIII centuries of the Anglo-Saxons, in the IX and early X centuries of the Franks, who multiplied and elaborated these two original compilations. In all cases he describes the form of the collections as topographical and its purpose religious. *Il medio evo dunque ha avuto un concetto dell' epigrafia che direi pratico, ha raccolto le iscrizioni a scopo di devozione, d'esercizio letterario, di controversia, di esaltazione storica, sempre però come complemento di descrizioni e di itinerari, di cui vengono a costituire quasi il commento storico e letterario.* Briefly, though perhaps too easily, one might class these epigraphical collections as evidence of the nostalgia of the northerner for the City of the Apostles.

After the X century epigraphical collections grow scarce; de Rossi records a Milanese collection of the XI century,[2] there is the work of Petrus Mallius [3] in the XII century, in the XIII century there is virtually nothing. The remarkable XII century group of guides to Rome, the *Graphia Aurea Urbis Romae* and the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, which were written in Rome itself, do not include inscriptions. The revival does not begin till the XIV or perhaps the early XV century with an important collection, the *Signoriliana*, ascribed by de Rossi to Cola di Rienzi.[4]

With this collection the new period in epigraphical studies begins. Inscriptions are now the object of scholarship, material for the study of letters, history and theology; collections multiply, but they are of a very different nature. A definite attempt is made to preserve, and possibly restore, texts; collections such as those of Petrus Sabinus, Alciatus, Panvinius, Doni,[5] and Bosio provide valuable records of many monuments which have since disappeared. The study includes of course classical as well as Christian inscriptions, and favours the early Christian rather than the medieval period. Epi-

[1] Another important discussion of the MSS. is in H. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, 1889.

[2] de Rossi, II, 174.

[3] *ibid.* 193.

[4] de Rossi, II, 304, 316. Silvagni ascribes it to the latter date, *Nova Series* I, xxx.

[5] Sabinus, de Rossi, II, 407; Alciatus, C.I.L. VI, p. xviii, IX, p. xxvi; Panvinius, C.I.L. VI, p. liii, IX–X, p. Doni, C.I.L. VI, p. lviii, IX–X, p. xxxviii.

graphers now began to form *corpora*, arranged, not topographically, but according to some classification by subject; or to incorporate inscriptions, along with other primary sources, into works of larger scope. In the first place we get the collections of Gori, Gruter, Maffei, Zaccaria; in the second the material to be found in the Annals of Baronius, Ughelli's *Italia Sacra* and the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*. In all cases the preoccupation is with the text, not with the stone itself, and though very many of the texts are transcriptions from the stone the corpora in particular are often compilations from other collections, and the source of the transcription tends to take the place of a topographical reference to the monument. Thus not only is the record of the history and possible existence of the stone omitted—facts important perhaps only from a purely epigraphical point of view—but the text itself with frequent, uncollated transcription grows corrupt. In both Baronius and Ughelli, to take important examples, some inscriptions are quoted in a form which is grossly inaccurate, and has led to historical misconceptions. The culmination of this school of epigraphical research was, however, a work of monumental scholarship, which is still easily the most copious and important source for inscriptions of the period with which we are dealing, though it actually covers all the Christian inscriptions of Europe, both Latin and Greek, before 1000. This is the collection of Gaetano Marini (1742–1815), published in 1831 by Cardinal Angelo Mai in the fifth volume of his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*. Marini used every possible source—the stones themselves, the transcriptions of his friends, post-Renaissance collections, published and unpublished, and many of the medieval manuscripts. Rather similar in nature is the earlier collection of Muratori, in the fourth volume of his *Novus Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*, 1742; but it is neither so complete, nor so accurate. Except to these two collections and to first publications of individual inscriptions I have not attempted to give references to these epigraphical works. A history of the study is given in the preface to the first volume of de Rossi's *Inscriptiones Christianae* and also in Mai's introduction to the collection of Marini. Silvagni gives a critical list of 155 collections in his continuation of de Rossi, *Nova Series*, I, 1922.

Meanwhile, however, the topographical study of inscriptions was by no means dead. In the first place there are the records of travelling scholars, such as L. Schrader's *Monumentorum Italiae*, etc., 1592, Mabillon's *Iter Italicum*, 1587, Bluhme, *Iter Italicum*, 1824, and Zaccaria's *Excursus Litterarium per Italiam*, 1754; and secondly there is the voluminous and most useful series of local histories. The activity of local patriots in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries rediscovered many recorded inscriptions which, after the inevitable destruction or natural collapse of the Pre-Romanesque structures to which they belonged, had fallen to base usage, as building material, even as doorsteps. The record of the vicissitudes of individual inscriptions is valuable evidence of authenticity, and I have tried to give references to such information in printed sources.

In 1857 a milestone in the study of Christian inscriptions in Italy was reached with de Rossi's publication of a corpus, recording both the actual and the traditional text, and the place and condition of the stone; the companion to the other great corpora of modern scholarship, Mommsen, Le Blant, Hübner, Kraus. De Rossi's work, however, only includes the dated inscriptions of the city of Rome before 600. It has since been extended by the supplement of G. Gatti published in 1915 and the two volumes of Professor Angelo Silvagni, that of 1922 which includes *Inscriptiones Incertae Originis* and

that of 1935 with the inscriptions of the cemeteries of the viae Cornelia, Aurelia, Portuensis and Ostiensis. In the Preface to the first volume of his series Professor Silvagni points out the inconsistencies in de Rossi's method of arranging his material: *Prima pars epitaphia complectetur, quibus temporum doctrina erit superstruenda. Altera inscriptiones selectas, idest sacras primo et historicas, deinde eas cuiusvis generis, quarum testimonio, formulis, symbolis christianorum dogmata, sacra, mores declarantur. Toto reliquo opere topographicae series disponentur.* This is a method half-way between the principles of modern scientific scholarship and those of Gruter and Marini. Instead Professor Silvagni proposed, and in his two volumes already published has begun, the work of completing the corpus according to a purely topographical arrangement. He also protests at de Rossi's arbitrary limitation of date, proposing that the only logical limit of a collection of Christian inscriptions is the Renaissance, and projecting, as a further extension, a corpus of the inscriptions not only of Rome, but of all Italy, continuing till the mid-XVI century. The plan of this second corpus is announced in the preface to his volume of 1935.[6] Its completion should make the epigraphical material of medieval Italy both in its textual and its paleographical aspects available to all scholars in the most scientific and desirable form.[7]

Meanwhile it is relevant to note the modern continuation of the traditions of local scholarship. A number of admirable collections of the early medieval inscriptions of particular cities and provinces of Italy have been published, combining the results of modern excavations and the records of ancient authors. The most important of these are the collections of the inscriptions of Milan, Piedmont, Como, Verona and Liguria.[8]

The purpose of the present study is not in any way to anticipate any part of the corpus of Professor Silvagni. It is not intended as a corpus, not even as a collection of inscriptions, but as an arrangement of the most important inscriptions of three centuries of Italian history from a purely paleographical aspect. I have treated inscriptions as art-historical material and have tried to group, present, and discuss them so that they shall be available to the historian as coherent evidence of one branch of the artistic activity of the time. I have included a collection of inscriptions because, since none as yet exists, any general discussion without some individual discussion of the component material would make a thesis of which it would be impossible to weigh the reasoning, far less test the truth of the conclusions. Moreover the fame and the multiplicity of the publications and discussions of these inscriptions have led to misconceptions. Dates have been determined and names identified by historians and antiquarians on presumptive or merely possible evidence, and they have then been quoted as facts. I have tried in my individual discussions of each inscription to determine the limits of certainty and the degrees of probability in such cases. Except in so far as it is evidence for these questions, of date, of the identity and position of any persons involved, and of the circumstances in which the stone was actually cut, I have avoided discussion of the

[6] Earlier schemes and more detailed announcements of the plans for this corpus are to be found in articles by G. Gatti, *Arch. R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Pat.* XXXI, 1908; A. Beccaria, *Arch. Stor. Ital.* 1909, with a bibliography of numerous previous articles; A. Silvagni, *Raccolta delle iscrizioni medioevali italiane di civiltà cristiana anteriori al sec. XIII. Resumés des communications presentées au Congrès de Varsovie*, 1933.

[7] Since this essay was originally written the first parts of Professor Silvagni's *Monumenta Epigraphica Christiana* have appeared, consisting of plates illustrating the material before 1300.

[8] V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni di Milano dal sec. VIII ai giorni nostri* 1889–93; C. Gazzera, *Iscrizioni cristiane antiche del Piemonte*, 1851; U. Monneret de Villard, *Iscrizioni cristiane della provincia di Como anteriori al secolo XI*; L. Billo, 'Le iscrizioni Veronesi dell' alto Medioevo,' *Arch. Ven.* 1934.

text. A complete study involves a wide knowledge of the Latinity, history, liturgy and topography of the period; also a parallel study of the great body of recorded but lost inscriptions. As I am concerned only with inscriptions as archeological, not as documentary, historical evidence I have merely included a reference to a reliable text.[9] I have, however, noted any important variations between this text and the text which I have checked on the stone.

In order to compare the inscriptions and to note the incidence of peculiar forms of letters I have drawn an alphabet of typical letter-forms used in each inscription. These alphabets are prepared from alphabets which I made before the stone, or in some cases from squeezes, photographs or reproductions. In the case of a regular and well-cut inscription it is comparatively simple to draw an accurate alphabet. The letters are all according to the same form, or the variant forms are well defined. In the case of a very irregular but forcibly cut inscription, each example of every letter tends to be different. I have then tried to give a typical form, or if the gamut is very large its extremes. Finally in the case of ill-executed inscriptions, one naturally tends to give the form towards which each fumbling letter strives. The shapeless variations are unimportant, and the alphabet illustrated shows what is best, and not what is worst in the epigraphy. However the spacing, the regularity, the verve of the execution is often more significant than the actual letter-forms, and this essay is intended to be read in conjunction with the plates of Professor Silvagni's *Monumenta*, to which references have been given. In the regions [10] which he has so far covered nearly all the inscriptions here discussed have been illustrated. It has therefore been decided to limit the illustrations to this essay to inscriptions particularly relevant to the argument. These are made either from squeezes taken and in some cases inked in by the author or from photographs very kindly lent by Professor Silvagni.

Previous studies from the paleographical point of view have been rare and incomplete. In the field of this essay, the most important is that of Cipolla in his article on the Velo di Classe published in *Gallerie Nazionali* vol. III. That of Grossi Gondi 'Excursus sulla paleografia della epigrafia del Secolo IX' in *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*, serie II, vol. 13, is important though inconclusive.

Of earlier Italian inscriptions I know of no study beyond the general study in Le Blant, 'La paléographie des inscriptions latines du III^{e} à la fin du VII siècle' in *Revue Archéologique*, 1896, 1897. The only comparative material from which to judge are the wood blocks in de Rossi, scattered collections of process-reproductions such as those in Marucchi's *Museo Cristiano Lateranense*, Diehl's *Inscriptiones Christianae*, Grisar's *Analecta Romana*, and local collections. It is therefore impossible to draw anything but tentative conclusions on the genesis of the paleographical styles which may be distinguished in our period. Nor is the material of other European countries sufficiently studied to make a comparative examination of much value. The only comprehensive work is that of M. Paul Deschamps, 'Etude sur la paléographie des inscriptions lapidaires de la fin de l'époque Mérovingienne aux dernières années du XIV^{e} siècle', *Bulletin Monumental*, 1929. In German there are two important dissertations; *Nieder-*

[9] The 'complete' texts referred to are texts of what now survives. Where more is preserved from early transcriptions I have given references which also include the text of these records.

[10] Rome, Milan, Pavia, Lucca, Como, Naples and Benevento.

rheinische Epigraphik vom achten bis dreizehnten Jahrhundert, by Rudolf Conrad, and 'Mainzer Epigraphik', by Konrad Bauer in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Buchwesen u. Schrifttum* 1926.

The paleographical styles distinguishable in our period are extraordinarily rich, and their classification complex and baffling. It is not possible in any of these three centuries to reject any inscription, because it is possible to cite other inscriptions of the same date which are different. Inscriptions of unquestioned authenticity dated to the same decade can be found without a characteristic letter-form in common. At the same time there is no scarcity of material, and a very large proportion is dated. I have found that the key to classification has been direct reference to the historical conditions of the time. I hope my essay may demonstrate that the classification of inscriptions has historical significance.

II. ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VIII CENTURY, 700–795.

The series of dated inscriptions of the VIII century surviving in Rome is remarkably complete. It consists of fourteen inscriptions from nearly every decade in the century. The last of these, no. 76, marks the Carolingian advent and has therefore been placed in the next group, p. 97. Eleven of the inscriptions form a homogeneous group (nos. 1,4–13), to which may be added the undated but long and important inscription now walled into the atrium of S. Maria in Cosmedin (no. 15). Nos. 2 and 3 stand apart in that they are cut in relief. These inscriptions represent the typical official style of the period: six were specifically executed at the order of the reigning pontiff, and probably three also of the others (nos. 10, 11 and 12); the other employers, Cardinal Gregory (no. 8), Theodotus *dux et primicerius* (no. 9), Eustathius *dux* (no. 15) were clearly personages of wealth and position. The identification of Paulus *levita* (no. 13) is dubious, but the comparative magnificence of his epitaph suggests a person of importance.

The most important of such contemporary works of art as are recorded or have survived were commissioned by these same people. Sergius I restored, and gave gold and silver ornaments to a number of churches. John VII built himself a palace next S. Maria Antiqua, where he commissioned the paintings which, with the mosaics from his oratory in St. Peter's, are the most important pictorial monuments of the beginning of the century. Gregory III also created an oratory in St. Peter's richly decorated with hanging crosses, crowns and cups, and an image of the Blessed Virgin.[11] The inscription recording the donation by Cardinal Gregory of books *storiarium plenos* is a very rare reference to illustrated manuscripts in VIII century Rome. The inscription of Theodotus is the commemoration of the building of a new church, a rare event in the VIII century: most popes were content to restore those already existing, which were numerous and continually falling into disrepair. Theodotus was also the donor of the frescoes of the chapel of SS. Julitta and Quiricus in S. Maria Antiqua, the most important paintings of the mid-century.[12] Hadrian I has the longest list in the *Liber Pontificalis* of his century, of restorations and donations, particularly of textiles and plate.

The inscriptions erected to record the names of these illustrious men are perhaps the most miserable and ill-executed examples of epigraphy in our whole period. They

[11] *Cf.* the lives of these popes in the *Liber Pontificalis*. [12] Toesca, I, 216.

do not show any development. The worst are nos. 7, 11 and 12; the lettering is cramped and niggardly; lack of judgment in spacing or trouble in execution seem the obvious causes of the frequent ligatures and reduced letters. The best are nos. 8 and 13, which show some generosity in the letter-forms and spacing. But in none of all these inscriptions (except perhaps no. 4) is there any pleasure, precision or skill in cutting the stone. Even in no. 4 the forms of the letters are indefinite, as if the mason had no clear idea of what he meant them to be and followed any peculiarity from habit rather than intention.

The following are the most characteristic letter-forms: A with a square top and an inclined cross-bar; B with the lower bowl much bigger than the upper, which is often very mean, and a strong tendency to separate the two bowls, leaving a gap in the stem; D with the bowl fatter at the top than the bottom, a characteristic peculiar to VIII century Rome; uncial E occurs (but no other uncial form);[13] G very open and often cramped, the short spur projecting below the bowl, as in nos. 6 and 7, being a form not found elsewhere. The diagonal of the N tends to start low and end high; so that in some cases the letter can be mistaken for H.[14] The leg of the R is normally straight and in the most typical form runs almost vertically out of the narrow bowl; it is almost always joined to the bowl, not to the stem. S is narrow and angular, flat and short at the top and bottom. V is narrow, usually terminating in a double serif. Y is used, but is often indistinguishable from V. It is notable that these differentiating letters are in general most characteristic in the worst inscriptions. They are not, as in other styles, the best-formed or experimental or exuberant letters, but in fact the worst lapses of what is a decadent, but fundamentally classical tradition.

Certain formal peculiarities may be noted: letters of a larger size are occasionally introduced (nos. 4, 13, 15); the inscriptions of John VII are the only examples in the period of letters cut in relief; flourishes are rare,

The Latinity is variable. Never good, it sinks lowest in nos. 12 and 15, where the very sense of declensions and agreements is slipping. Inversions of the letters V and B are common, C is also used for QVO. There is one instance of H added.

Abbreviations are not a characteristic of the school. The common ones are usually used: DI, DNS, SCAE, XPI, EPISC; and the donations of land and the lists of relics have a set of usages of their own. Otherwise the abbreviations consist in the occasional clipping of the end of a word. No. 15 is the only inscription where this is done to any large extent, but its lack of method is shown in such an abbreviation as *qu(i) sun(t)*. Except for this inscription the omission of final M and the abbreviation of enclitic *que* is very rare.

Dating is most commonly by the reign of the pope; the Roman system of reckoning the day of the month is also common. No. 9 is the only example in which the year is given, indeed the only example of this in the VIII century.

None of the inscriptions is ornamented, and none, except those of John VII, is connected with any sort of sculpture. They are, however, very similar to the painted inscriptions of the period in S. Maria Antiqua in the chapel of SS. Julitta and Quiricus.[14a]

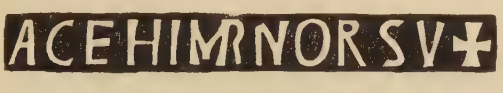
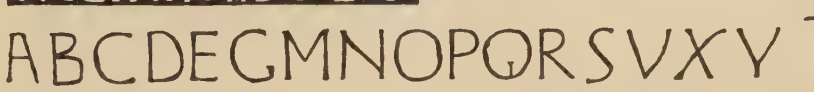
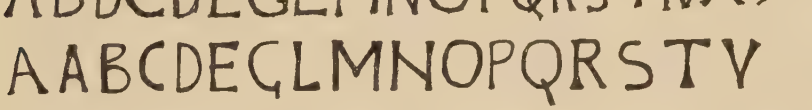
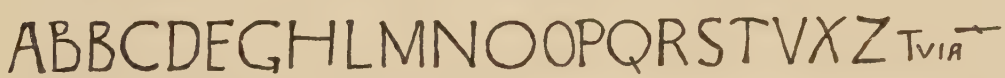
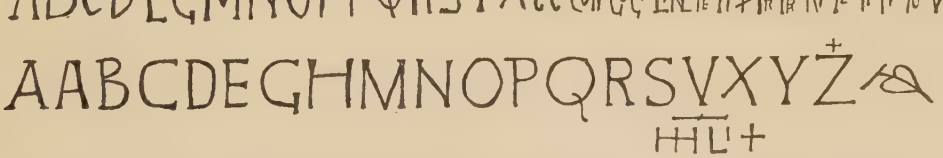
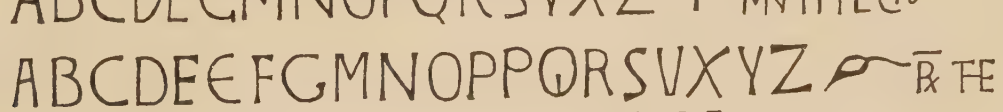
There remains one other dated inscription, no. 14. It is a fragment, clearly part of

[13] *v.* no. 15 for a possible exception.

[14] This form occurs in half-uncial script.

[14a] W. de Grüneison, *S. Marie-Antique*, 1911, p. 416, gives alphabets of contemporary painted inscriptions.

some architectural monument, since the top half is carved with a row of blind arcades, and it records the gift of one Gregory. The difference between this inscription and the style of the previous group is startling. These letters make no incompetent attempts to be regular or to keep to even lines or spacing. They are wildly irregular in spacing, size and shape. At the same time they are cut with generosity and verve, the lines are struck deep and deliberately. Here clearly is a new and fundamentally different idea of an inscription; one to which one instinctively applies the word 'barbaric'. What is seemingly barbarian work doing in Rome itself under the rule of an enlightened and purely Roman pope, and in a church which he himself rebuilt from its foundations? We shall find similar inscriptions in the other VIII century groups; they are discussed, together with undated examples from Rome and elsewhere, on pages 78–85.

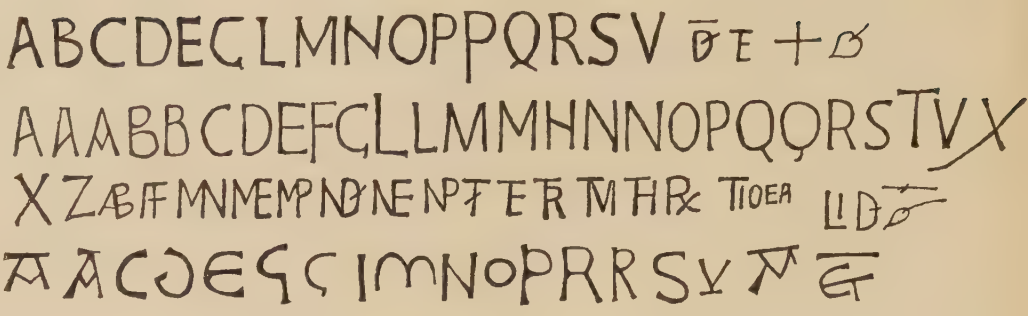
No.	Height of letters.	
2	16 cm.	
3	*c.* 7·5 cm.	
1		
4	†	
5	*c.* 4 cm.	
6	2·5–3 cm.	
7	4–5 cm.	
8	4 cm., last line 3 cm.	
9	*	
10	*c.* 4	
11	3–4 cm.	
12	*c.* 4·5 cm.	

No. Height of letters.

13 *c.* 4·5 cm., last line 3·5 cm.

15 3·5–5 cm.

14 2·5–6 cm.



No. 1 687–701

. . . GINIS ET MARTYRIS XP̄I SUSAN . . .
. . . SERGIVS EPIS̄C̄ · SERVUS SERVORUM D̄I̅. *etc.*

Rome; Lateran Museum. Donation by Pope Sergius I of land to the Church of S. Susanna; in prose. Fragmentary; complete text given by de Rossi (*Bull. crist.*), including emendations and fragments known from MS. sources.

G. L. Oderico, *Dissertationes in aliquot ineditas veterum inscriptiones*, 1765, 261; S. Borgia, *De cruce vaticana*, 1779, 24; Marini, 215, 216; Marini-Mai, 226; de Rossi, *Bull. crist.* 1870, 89, pl. VIII (MS. sources given here); Duchesne, I. 379; Grossi-Gondi, no. 73 ; Silvagni I, pl. XII, 7.

One fragment only remains. Various MS. collections record that in the XVI century six large fragments of this long inscription existed in S. Susanna. In 1603 the church was reconstructed and these fragments lost. The present fragment was found in the mid-XVIII century, during the demolition of the high altar of the church of S. Vitale. Its connection with the text preserved in the MS. of Doni was established by Marini. De Rossi, after a comparison with two other MSS., publishes another reconstruction of the complete text.

The connection of the donation with Sergius I rather than Sergius II or III is advanced by de Rossi against the suggestion of Marini. A donation by Sergius I to S. Susanna (the church of which he had been titular priest) is recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis*. As de Rossi points out, Marini's thesis that the paleography indicates a later date is without foundation. Sergius I reigned from 687–701 and the inscription may therefore be attributed to this date with some certainty.

The inscription is fairly well cut. There are some abbreviations.

No. 2 705–707

+ IOHAN
NES SERVV
SCAE MRIAE *etc.*

Rome; S. Maria Antiqua. Inscription in Latin and Greek recording the name of John. It runs round three edges of an elongated octagonal slab, 11 cm. thick.

Bull. Comm. Arch. 1900, 318; W. de Grüneison, *S. Marie-Antique*, 1911, 55, 83, 432 n. 63; *Album Epigraphique*, pl. V, XIX; Silvagni, I, pl. XII, 4.

The inscribed slab was found during the excavations in 1890 and identified as the base of an ambone. Three of the other sides have the same inscription in Greek. The two long sides are blank. It is mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* that John VII decorated S. Maria Antiqua with frescoes and made a new ambone there. The inscription may therefore be dated to his reign, 705–707. This inscription, like that of John VII in the Museum of St. Peter's (no. 3), and, unlike any others of the period, is cut in relief. The letters are large and ugly, but quite forcibly and efficiently cut. The cross patée also occurs at Cividale (no. 32).

No. 3 705–707

+ IOHANNIS SeRVI SCAE MARIAE

Rome; Museum of St. Peter's. A dedication. Broken in two pieces, with a piece missing in the middle.

G. Severano, *Historie delle chiese di Roma e particolari delle sette chiese*, 1675, 71; P. L. Dionysius, *Sacrarum Vaticanae Basilicae Cryptarum Monumenta*, 1773, 42, pl. 18 (line engraving); Sarti and Settele, 29; Grisar, 167, pl. 2; Marucchi, *Eléments*, III, 258 (poor reproduction); Silvagni, I, pl. XII, 6.

Grimaldi recorded this inscription as part of the ciborium of the Sudarium, destroyed in 1606. The early descriptions of St. Peter's (e.g., Petrus Sabinus, XII century) record that the Sudarium was in the *oratorium sanctae dei Genetricis* built by John VII. The building of this oratory and its decoration with mosaics is recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis*—life of John VII. This inscription recording his name belongs presumably to the chapel and its mosaics, not, as Grimaldi supposed, to the later ciborium. Its date is therefore that of the reign of John VII, 705–707. Like no. 2, the letters are in relief.

No. 4 715–731

DOMINI SSCIS AC BEATISS PETRO ET PAVLO APOSTOLORVM PRINCIPIBVS ·
GREGORIVS INDIGNVS SERVVS · *etc.*

Rome; St. Peter's, high up in the atrium. Donation of olive-groves by Pope Gregory for the church lighting. Complete text is given by de Rossi, II, 413.

P. Mallius in de Rossi, II, 209; P. Sabinus, *ibid.*, 411; de Rossi gives a bibliography of early publications, 209; Diehl, pl. 38 d; Silvagni, I, pl. XIV, 1.

Two slabs, complete though cracked, and one smaller than the other, now survive. The inscription was first recorded by Petrus Mallius (XII century). He also records the text inscribed on a third slab, which states that it was executed in the reign of the Emperor Leo. By the XV century this was already lost. This would allow the Pope concerned to be either Gregory II or III. But the words '*ab uveribus matris . . . intro gremium ecclesiae vestrae* (SS. Peter & Paul) *aluistis*' (line 5) indicate, as de Rossi points out, Gregory II '*a parva aetate in patriarchi nutritum*' (*Liber Pontificalis*, I, 396) rather than the Syrian, Gregory III. Gregory II reigned from 715–731.

The forms of the letters are fairly constant, but their size and degree of compression vary. The greater part of the text is in fairly small wide letters, but in the first line they are nearly twice this size, and in the second equally large, but very compressed and with many inserted letters. These large letters recur, apparently for emphasis. Vowels are frequently inserted. There are stops, triangular or heart-shaped, and heart-shaped flourishes at the end of some of the lines. The letters, though inelegant and uninteresting, are cut with some deliberation and have firm terminations. There are a number of abbreviations, particularly in the catalogue of estates: *mass, fund, sp, olibet*, for *massa, fundus, super, olivetum*. V and B are interchanged.

No. 5 (Plate XII, 2) 731–741

In nomine domini dei salVATORis nostri
IHV XPI breve FACTA a me *etc.*

Rome; S. Paolo fuori le Mura, in the epigraphical museum. Record of the ordinance of Gregory III that six masses shall be said daily in the basilica at various altars. Fragments only remain. Complete text is given by Nicolai.

Margarini, *Inscriptiones S. Pauli*, no. 30; N. M. Nicolai, *Della Basilica di S. Paolo*, 1815, 187; Muratori, *Thes.*, mdccclxxxi; Marini-Mai, 214, 1; Grisar, 169, pl. III; I. Schuster, *La basilica e il monastero di S. Paolo*, 1934, 20; Silvagni, I, pl. XII, 3a.

The inscription was first published by Margarini, who saw the complete text. It was ruined in the fire of 1823. The text explicitly states *Gregorio tertio papae*. There are no abbreviations in the fragments which remain.

Nos. 6 and 7 732 *and* 741

6. A. PetRO THEOTHANIO SERGIO IORDANE
SEV IOHANNE · ADSTANTIBVS QVOQVE DIA *etc.*

B. TRA ESt omnium salus et Dei ecclesiae laus
GREGORIVS S̄C̄issimus ac beatissimus *etc.*

7. EXAVDI Nos oMNP ET MISERICORS Ds famulum tuum
GregoRIVM TERtIVM QVEM TVA GRATIA IVSSIT esse pastorem
per haec quae *etc.*

Rome; St. Peter's, in the crypt.

No. 6 (A & B), fragments of the enactment of the ecclesiastical council at Rome in 732; No. 7, prayers for the soul of Gregory III, d. 741, also fragmentary. The complete text, including the portions now lost, in de Rossi, II, 412–417.

P. Sabinus in de Rossi, II, 412, 8; Torrigio, 70 (no. 6), 86 (no. 7); M. Vegius in *Acta Sanctorum* ed. *Janningus, Jun. VII. de Basilica Vaticana*, 80; de Rossi, 'Due monumenti inediti spettanti a due concilii romani' *Annali delle scienze religiose*, 1854; Duchesne, I, 422; Diehl, pl. 39 A; Dufresne, nos. 10, 12, 30 (reproduction of no. 7); Grisar, 171, pl. II (no. 7); Marini-Mai, 210 and 27; Silvagni, I, pl. XIII, 1 (6 A and B), 2 (7).

In 1494 Sabinus transcribed inscriptions from three stones which he saw in the oratory of Gregory III. Part of the second, and the third of these stones seen by Sabinus still survive (nos. 6 B and 7); the first is lost. A fourth stone (6 A), discovered

in 1616, recorded by Grimaldi and published by Torrigio, is paleographically almost exactly similar to the fragment 6 B, while the text appears to join on to that of the lost stone seen by Sabinus, which obviously lacks a beginning. The inscriptions on these three stones thus formed a continuous text, being the enactment of the offices to be said in the new oratory of Gregory III, made in council. The list of prelates given in this text corresponds with that given in the *Liber Pontificalis* for the council of 732, which was summoned by Gregory III to consider the iconoclastic question.

The inscription on the last stone (no. 7) exists almost complete. It is paleographically different and consists of three prayers for the repose of the soul of Pope Gregory. It was presumably added on his death in 741; Sabinus saw it, with the other stones, over his tomb.

In no. 6 B lines 2, 8, 14 and 19 are set one letter out into the margin. Both 6 A & B are very badly cut; in no. 7 the forms of the letters are also compressed and mean, the spacing indeterminate and uneven. There are a few common abbreviations in both inscriptions. No. 6 is in prose, whereas no. 7, unlike any other inscription of the period, is in liturgical Latin.

No. 8 741–752

+ HISRAELITICUS DO OFFEREBAT POPULUS RURI
ALIUS QUIDEM AURUM · ALIUS NAMQUE ARGENTUM. *etc.*

Rome; S. Clemente, fixed to the wall of the upper church. Record of the gift by Gregory, cardinal priest of S. Clemente, of certain books of the Old and New Testaments, *storiarum ilico plenos*, to his church, in the pontificate of Zacharias. The text is metrical. The complete text is given in Marucchi; l. 6 of his reading omits *ac* (*curam ac beati*); l. 8 gives *praesulis* for *presulis*.

Fontanini, 86; D. Bartolini, *Di S. Zaccaria papa*, 1879, 261; Muratori, *Antiq.*, III, 839; Galletti, I, cccv, 220; Marini-Mai, 224, 2; Grisar, 172, pl. IV, and 123; Marucchi, *Basiliques*, 306 (half tone); Diehl, pl. 38 c; Silvagni, I pl. XIV, 2.

A similar gift was made to the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul by Pope Zacharias (*Liber Pontificalis*, 432). Cardinal Gregory subscribed to the Roman councils of 744 (or 743?) and 745. There are a few common abbreviations; *quoque* is spelt *coque*.

No. 9 755

HAEC SVNT NOMINA SCORVM CORVM
BENEFICIA HIC REQUISCUNT IDEST *etc.*

Rome; S. Angelo in Pescaria. List of saints whose relics are preserved in the church and a record of its dedication to St. Paul, and of its foundation by Theodotus *holim dux nunc primicerius sanctae sedis apostolicae et pater uius ben diac* in indiction 8 *anno ab initio mundi* 6263, in the time of Pope Stephen *junior*. The complete text is given in Grisar.

Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* II, xvii; Torrigio, 540; Galletti, I, XIII, 17; P. Galletti, *Del Primicero della santa sede Apostolica*, 1776, 52 (part of text only); Marini-Mai, 40, 1; Duchesne, I, 514 (part of text only); C. Huelsen, *Le chiese di*

Roma, 1927, 196; Grisar, 173, pl. III; J. Lestocquoy, 'Administration de Rome et diaconies,' *Riv. Arch. Crist*, 1930, 280 (reproduction); G. Marchetti-Longhi, 'Elephas Herbaniis e "curtis Miccinae,"' *Rend. Acc. Pont*, IV, 1926, 326; Silvagni, I, pl. XIV, 3.

The foundation of the church is dated by this inscription, which also records its original dedication to St. Paul.

The 8th indiction falls in the reign of both Stephen II (755) and Stephen III (770). The year 6263 *ab initio mundi* can also fall on either of these dates, according to the era of Constantinople or that of Alexandria, which might equally have been used. Theodotus' portrait, however, appears in the frescoes which he commissioned in S. Maria Antiqua, where he is also described as *primicerius;* he is represented with Pope Zacharias (741–52), both with square haloes.

In 743 one Ambrose was *primicerius*, who died in 753.[1] A letter in the Codex Carolinius of 764 mentions Christopher *primicerius*. It seems most probable therefore that Theodotus held the office after Ambrose and that the date of this inscription is 755. He was the uncle and guardian of Pope Hadrian I (772–95).

No. 10 *757–767*

A. IN̄ N DN̄I HEC EST NOTITIA NATALICIORUM
SC̄ORUM HIC REQUIESCENTIUM *etc.*

B. IN N DNI HAEC NOT NAT· SC·
HIC REQUIESCENT . . . *etc.*

Rome; S. Silvestro in Capite, fixed to the wall of the atrium. A calendar of the natal feasts of saints buried in S. Silvestro arranged in two tables, one of male, the other of female saints. The complete text of A is given by Marucchi, of B by de Rossi in *Bull. Arch. Crist.*

P. Sabinus in de Rossi, II, 448, nos. 211, 212, with bibliography of early publications; G. Carletti, *Chiesa di S. Silvestro in Capite*, 1795, 154; Galletti, I, 505; Muratori, *Thes.*, mxmlxvi; Marini-Mai, 56.1; De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1882, 40; Grisar, p. 176, reproduction of part of B; Diehl, pl. 45. A (allegedly XII century); Marucchi, *Basiliques*, 398 (allegedly XI century); Silvagni, I, pl. XXXVII, 1 and 2; Grossi-Gondi, no. 66.

The first line of the text of both inscriptions is recorded in Sabinus (XV century). The right half of the second inscription was discovered by de Rossi in 1880 during the construction of a new building beside the church. The *Liber Pontificalis* (p. 464) records that Paul I (757–767) rebuilt the church of S. Silvestro and brought thither the bodies of innumerable saints from the cemeteries outside Rome. This is the first recorded translation of relics from the cemeteries and it was obviously occasioned by the devastations of the Lombards during the siege of Rome in 756. The example of Paul I

[1] Galletti, *Del Primicero*, 41. His epitaph (now lost) is dated *mense deceb indiction VII temp. dn stefani pp.* It would seem therefore that Theodotus could not have been *primicerius* while Zacharias was still living. G. B. Tatum (*Art Bulletin* 1944, 28) produces numerous examples of people represented with square nimbi who could not have been living at the time of the portrait and suggests that in the IX century it was used to distinguish people who had risen above the common level without attaining sainthood. In this case the representation would imply that Zacharias, though perhaps already dead at the time of their execution, had been interested in Theodotus' paintings.

was followed by later popes, but there seems no reason to reject the simple explanation of these inscriptions as the record of the first translation by Paul I. Their paleography, and that of the inscription with a similar list of saints in the Vatican (no. 11) confirms this date. Those who have attributed them to a different date, Marucchi and Silvagni (*S. Martino ai Monti*, 115), have given no reason.

The abbreviations, like most of these lists of relics, are inconsistent, *n*, *nt*, *nat* for *natalis*. The formula *M SS N SCI*—is peculiar.

No. 11 *757–767*

. . . S · LUCII PP
s Pigm ENII PBI *etc.*

Rome; St. Peter's, in the crypt. Part of a list of Saints. The complete text is given in Mai, except: l. 6 *Caloce(ri)* for *Calocēr*, l. 20 *Concord* for *Concordiae*, l. 23 *Cyrilla* for *Cyrillae*, l. 25 *Silvestr.* for *Silvestrii*.

Torrigio, 17; P. L. Dionysius, *Sacrarium Vaticanae Basilicae Cryptarum Monumenta*, 1773, 101, pl. XXXIX; de Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1882, 40; Marini-Mai, 44. 1. Dufresne, 79; Diehl, pl. 39c; Silvagni, I, pl. XXXVII, 3; Grossi-Gondi, no. 64.

As de Rossi points out this list is the twin of that at S. Silvestro in capite (no. 10), except that here the mention of the feast days is omitted. He argues that in translating the relics from the cemeteries outside Rome to S. Silvestro Paul reserved for himself something of each saint; and that either he, or one of his successors, installed these in St. Peter's. The date of this inscription is therefore dependent on those of S. Silvestro; they are paleographically similar. Paul I reigned from 757–767.

Epigraphically the inscription is particularly unpleasant. The letters are not so much degraded in form as in the grossness and meanness of execution. Lines have been drawn on the stone to guide the mason. There are many ligatures and inserted letters. The abbreviations S and SCR̄ used for *sancti* and *sanctorum* are uncommon. There are many abbreviations.

No. 12 *783*

+ TEMPORIBVS
DN HADRIANI *etc.*

Rome; St. Peter's, in the crypt. Record of translation of relics on November 22nd, indiction 7, in reign of Pope Hadrian. Fragmentary. The complete text is given in Dufresne.

P. Sabinus in de Rossi, II, 431, 70; Torrigio, 81; Sarti et Settele, 25, pl. V; Marini-Mai, 44.2; Grisar, 179 (and reproduction); Dufresne, no. 27 and reproduction; Diehl, pl. 39b; Silvagni, I, pl. XIV, 4.

The names of the saints, the translation of whose relics is recorded, are not given. De Rossi argues that they were probably unknown to Hadrian. The nature of the inscription and the paleography both point to the VIII century, and therefore to the pontificate of Hadrian I. The 7th indiction falls in 784; since, however, this is dated

November, the year would be 783. This inscription represents the lowest depth to which epigraphy sinks in our period. Some of the letters are so shapeless that they seem a reversion to senseless marks, as if the mason were illiterate. The Latin is similar: *hic recundita sum reliquias sanctō̄r.*

No. 13 783

+ PARCE PRAECOR PAVLo saNCToruM MAXIMe praesul
ALTA PATERE POLI FAC ILLI CVLMINA CHRiste *etc.*

Rome; S. Lorenzo in Lucina, fixed to the wall of the atrium. Epitaph of Paul. (The acrostic gives *Paulus Levita*) who died '*id. Mart. ind. VI. temp dn Hadriani Papae.*' Broken in many pieces. The text is metrical. The full text is given in either reference.

Bull. Comm. Arch. 1872, 42; de Rossi in *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1873, 22; Silvagni, I, pl. XIV, 2.

The fragments of this inscription were found in 1872 during repairs to the foundations of the Palazzo Fiano, beside the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina.

De Rossi has suggested that the Paul to whom it refers might be the Paul Afiarta who figured so prominently in Italian politics under King Desiderius and Hadrian I. But the acrostic reads *Levita* and he falls back on the suggestion that this is the deacon who subscribed to the council of 743. The text of the epitaph is non-committal. It by no means excludes the possibility that this was the tomb of Afiarta.

The paleography dates it to the VIII century—it is very similar to the rather better inscriptions of this period, nos. 8, 9, 10—and therefore to the reign of Hadrian I. The indiction gives the year 783. Both in epigraphy and Latinity this is one of the most creditable Roman inscriptions of the century.

No. 14 772–795

de don IS · D̄Ī · ET S̄C̄Ē · D̄Ī · GENETRICIS MAriae
temporibuS D̄ŌN̄Ī ADRIANI PAPE EGO GREGORIUS NO. . . .

Rome; S. Maria in Cosmedin, in the antiquarium. Record of a donation by Gregory, *notarius*(?) On a broken, sculptured stone.

G.M. Crescimbene, *L'Istoria della basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, 1715, 42, and line engraving; Fontanini, 21; Galletti I, XV.18; Marini-Mai, 98.2; Cattaneo, 159, Fig. 82; Duchesne, I, 520; Grisar, 178, pl. III; G. B. Giovenale, *La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, 1927, 61, pl. XLII; Silvagni, I, pl. XIV, 5.

The inscription was found '*fra le ruine degli antichi edifizi esistenti intorno alla chiesa*' (Crescimbeni) and put up in the portico in his time; it was recently removed to the antiquarium. The *Liber Pontificalis* records that in the time of Hadrian I the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin was completely rebuilt. This sculptured stone must have been part of some piece of church furniture, a screen or ciborium; it is carved in front with a row of little arcades and at the side with rosettes; the character of the lettering is commented upon on pp. 78, 157. The undated Roman examples of the 'popular' style to which it belongs are found on pp. 84, 85.

No. 15 *mid VIII century*

+ HAEC TIBI PREACLARA VIR
GO CAELISTIS REGINA SCA SU *etc.*

Rome; S. Maria in Cosmedin, in the atrium. Record of gifts of land by Eustathius, *dux et dispensator* of the diaconate, and by George *gloriosissimus*, for the support of the poor and those serving the church. The complete text is correctly given in Lestocquoy, except: l. 4 *senetrix* for *genetrix*.

G. M. Crescimbeni, *L'Istoria della basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, 1715, 51, 61; Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* I, 15; Fontanini, 23, pt. of text only; Muratori, *Antiq.*, III, 571; *Thes.* mdccclxvii; Galletti, CCCCXIX. 5; Marini-Mai, 216. 1; G. B. Giovenale, *La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, 1927, 62, pl. XLV; J. Lestocquoy, *Riv. Arch. Crist.*, 1930, 277 (reproduction); Silvagni, I, pl. XXXVII, 4, 5.

In 1715 the inscriptions were already fastened to the '*facciata della porta*'. They were presumably placed there when the porch was built, probably in the XII century. They were untouched in the recent restoration. There is no evidence of date except the Latinity, which is debased, and the paleography, which is clearly similar to that of the rest of this group. It is particularly close to that of no. 9, and these two inscriptions are the only ones of this group which make an extensive practice of ligatures. According to Lestocquoy the word OAVIT in l. 32 should be read DAVID, which would mean the use of the uncial form of D not otherwise found except in no. 14 (popular style) in this group. There are also many abbreviations, in particular the dropping of the final M, a practice not found in other VIII century inscriptions—*p* for *per* is usually a sign of a later date, but is found also in no. 7. *Holibetis*, *bineas*, *binculo* are spellings found and *stius* for *istius*. Some abbreviations show a complete indifference to the language, *e.g.* *sun* or *su* for *sunt*.

III. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EXARCHATE AND THE PENTAPOLIS, 700–788

In the Exarchate there was a continuous epigraphical tradition from the VI to the VIII century. I have not systematically collected or studied VI or VII century inscriptions throughout Italy, and little can be said about them definitely without such a study, but it is quite clear that elsewhere there was no common, nor even any well-marked, particular style; nor was there any very remarkable epigraphy. The inscriptions are mostly perfunctory records in mean and cramped classical lettering, or involuntary and half-hearted tentatives towards a 'popular' manner and forms. In Ravenna in contrast there was a continuous tradition of formed and competent, if uninspired, epigraphy. Many inscriptions survive, and as in the case of the series of sarcophagi there is no clear distinction between those of the VII and those of the VIII century. I have therefore included dated inscriptions only. Of these there are six, four of which are on the sarcophagi of archbishops of Ravenna, and one on an episcopal chair. The sixth is the record of a donation by an archbishop to S. Apollinare in Classe. The letter-forms are unadventurous; there are no very characteristic peculiar letters though the proportions and the relation between height and width of line are typical. Various forms are used

of the letters which usually vary most, A, G, R, and Q. In general the forms are those current in Rome without the debased exaggerations, and with a notably higher technical standard. Abbreviations are common, particularly in no. 19, where V is also written for B. This and no. 4 are the only inscriptions dated by the year of the Greek emperor.

Again, there is an example in this territory of a 'popular' inscription, no. 18. It is not so coarse or so forceful as the inscription of S. Maria in Cosmedin (no. 14), but the affinity is quite clear.

The Exarchate was finally conquered by the Lombards about 750 and the greater part of it became incorporated in the papal states after Pipin's intervention of 756. I have however included in this group all the inscriptions which clearly belong to the same tradition, taking us down to 788.

No. Height of letters.

16 5–6·5 cm.

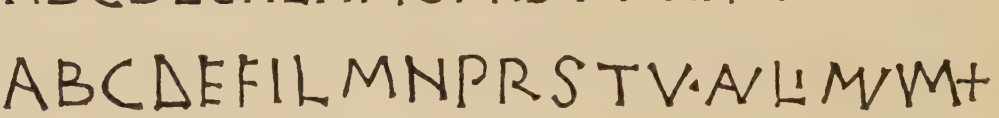
17 2–4·5 cm.

19 6–7 cm.

20 *c.* 6 cm.

21 6–8 cm.

22 5–8 cm.

18 

No. 16

✚ ARCHIEP . FECIT
DN . DAMIANUS

Ravenna; S. Apollinare in Classe. On the arms of a marble chair, now divided in two and placed either side of the church.

D. Spretus, *De Amplitudine, Eversione et Restauratione Urbis Ravennae*, 1793, I, 283; C.I.L. XI, pt. 1, Ravenna, p. 61.

Damian was archbishop of Ravenna about 700.

No. 17 *723 or 724*

+ HIC TVMLVS CLAVSVM SERVAT CORPUS DOMINE ELICIS
SCISSI AC TER BEATISS ARCHIEPISCOPI

Ravenna; S. Apollinare in Classe. Epitaph of archbishop Felix. Along the front of the lid of a sarcophagus.

Ughelli-Coleti, II, 343; Baronius, ad an. 714; Garrucci, V, pl. 392; Cappelletti II, 67.

The only archbishop Felix of Ravenna in these centuries died in 723 or 724. This inscription is very inferior to the other Ravennate inscriptions. The letters are scratched rather than cut.

No. 18 *708 or 723*

+ TEM DN FELI TR B ARCP SCE ECC
RAV · EDF · VINCENTIVS PRIMV
EPC · ECC · SCI CASSIANI CICVM
PRIMV · EDIFIC · P · IND · VI +
FELICI

Comacchio; walled into the outside of the cathedral, which was rebuilt in the XVI century.

Commemoration of the building of the church of S. Cassian by Vincentius, first bishop of Comacchio.

G. Ferro, *Istoria dell' antica città di Comacchio*, 1701, 410; Ughelli-Coleti, II, 482; Muratori, *Thes.* mcmlix, 1; G. L. Amadesi, *In Antistitum Ravennatum Chronotaxim*, 1783, II, 5; D. Spretus, *De Amplitudine, Eversione et Restauratione Urbis Ravennae*, 1796, II, 458 (with a woodcut); Beltramelli, *Da Comacchio ad Argenta*, 1931, 54, reproduction only.

The first mention of the town of Comacchio in any text is in the *Liber Pontificalis*, where its restoration to the Exarchate by Aistolf in 756 is recorded. Felix was archbishop of Ravenna 708–724. The 6th indiction would fall in 708 or 723. This inscription is therefore the earliest evidence of the town's existence. Muratori interprets *cicum* as *civitatis cumaclensis*.

Like no. 14 this inscription is quite different from the others of this, its natural group, both in the forms of the letters and in the irregularity of their disposition. The chart on p. 163 shows that its characteristic letters correspond to those of the *popular* school, as does the form of the text, *v.* p. 79.

No. 19 *731*

IN N̄ PATRIS · ET FILII ET S̄P̄S S̄C̄I · I M̄P̄ B · PIISSIMIS D̄D̄ N̄N̄
LEONE ET CONSTANTINO A D̄Ō CORONAT · PACIFIC ·
MAGNIS IMPB · LEONE *etc.*

Ravenna; in S. Apollinare in Classe.

Record of a donation of land and money by John V, archbishop of Ravenna in the

15th year of the reign of Leo and the 11th of Constantine, under Eutychus the Exarch, in the 14th indiction, IV Kal. Feb. The complete text is given in Mai. There are certain inaccuracies in abbreviations and spelling: l. 10 should read *ut sit inlivatum* (not *quod*), and l. 11 *his qui eius . . . iusso*, not *hisque ius . . . iussu*.

Marini-Mai, 228.1.

The elaborate system of dating yields the year 731. The inscription is very long and regular and cramped. There are numerous abbreviations, chiefly the terminations of words. V is sometimes substituted for B (*lavdavile, guvernante, affaviles*).

No. 20 770

+ HIC REQUIESCIT IN PACE SERGIVS V̄B̄ · ARCHIEPC̄ · SEDIT ANNO. . . .

Ravenna; in the cloisters of S. Vitale, inscribed on four fragments of a sarcophagus, comprising part of the epitaph of Sergius, archbishop of Ravenna.

The paleography and the fragment of the sarcophagus clearly suggest the epitaph of an archbishop of the VIII century. The only Sergius in that century reigned 748–770 (Ughelli-Coleti, II, 343). The inscription is neater than the others; A with sloping crossbar, G, and R and E with a prolonged stem are unusual forms, which suggest Lombard influence.

No. 21 (Plate XII, 1) 784

+ HIC · TVMV
LVS · CLAVSVM *etc.*

Ravenna; in S. Apollinare in Classe. Epitaph of John, archbishop of Ravenna. On three panels on the front of a sarcophagus. The complete text in Garrucci.

Garrucci, V, pl. 392; C. Goldmann, *Die ravennatischen Sarkophage*, 1906, 6.

John VI was archbishop 777–784.

No. 22 788

+ HIC TVMV
LVS · CLAV *etc.*

Ravenna; in S. Apollinare in Classe. The epitaph of Gratiosus, archbishop of Ravenna. On two panels on ends of a sarcophagus. Text in Garrucci.

Ughelli-Coleti, II, 344; Garrucci, V, pl. 392; K. Goldmann, *Die ravennatischen Sarkophage*, 1906, 5.

Gratiosus was archbishop 784–788. The inscription is coarse and handsome.

IV. THE VIII CENTURY INSCRIPTIONS OF THE LOMBARD KINGDOM

From the duchy of Benevento nothing survives which can definitely be dated to the VIII century.[15] From the main Lombard kingdom with its capital at Pavia and from the important dependent duchies of Friuli and Spoleto a considerable number of inscriptions have been preserved. In Rome the contrast of two styles of epigraphy is so startling that the grouping is obvious. In the Lombard territory the range of style is as great, but the grouping is confused. This is largely due to uncertain dating, in particular to the dating of two very important inscriptions, nos. 23 and 43, the epitaphs of Cuninc-pert and Theodota. Cunincpert died in 700, but his epitaph has been called a X century copy, chiefly because of its unlikeness to that of Theodota; the identification of Theo-dota is, however, dubious and her inscription is dated by the indiction only.

Let us begin instead by taking inscriptions of certain date only. Eleven exist which are dated to the reign of Liutprand (712–744), nos. 24–34. It is clear from the alphabets given that there was no unified style of epigraphy in this reign. Nos. 30 and 31 are in a style similar to the 'popular' inscriptions which occur both in Rome, no. 14, and in the Exarchate, no. 18, a style which seems therefore to be independent of the political barriers of the time. Of the others one, no. 24, has a definite date, the small fragment of the epitaph of Ansprand at Pavia (712), and this is inscribed in two different styles of lettering in alternate lines; unfortunately only two lines now survive. The two Chiusi inscriptions, nos. 25, 26, are very similar to one another and not unlike that of the altar of Ratchis, no. 27. They are unformed in style and use some 'popular' letter forms. No. 29, on the other hand, is reminiscent of the 731 inscription at Classe, no. 19; Liutprand's own inscription, no. 28, is more individual, but the lettering is still stilted and inexpert. The remaining three inscriptions, nos. 32, 33 and 34, are, however, examples of sophisticated taste and technical training; characteristic is the interest in serifs, which is also apparent in nos. 28 and 29.

There are four other inscriptions which are later than 744 and earlier than 876, nos. 35–38. Of these, nos. 36 and 37 are close in style to no. 34; the letters have the same curved backs and the very heavy, often tilted, serifs are unmistakable. No. 35 has a border which is almost identical with that of no. 33 and the lettering is similar, though not so accomplished. The later inscription from Cividale, no. 38, is very neat and competent, more compressed and very much more mannered than no. 32, and with little resemblance to the earliest Cividalese piece, no. 27. It is clear that the more accomplished and elaborate inscriptions of the reign of Liutprand belong to its later half and that the tradition formed then was continued up to the end of the Lombard kingdom (774).

Let us now consider the inscription of Theodota, no. 43, and the three others, nos. 44–6, which are closely associated in style and together represent the most remarkable achievement in accomplishment and elegance among the whole Lombard material. None of them is dated with certainty. The evidence is discussed under each inscription, and I think confirms the conclusion to which evidence of the dated inscriptions points,

[15] For the inscription of Leo III of Cimitile see no. 126.

that they were executed after the period of experiment; that is, after 735 at the earliest. If this is the case there is no reason why an inscription of 700 should be very close in style to the epitaph of Theodota. I do not therefore see any compelling paleographical reason for doubting the genuineness of the epitaph of Cunincpert. The lettering is, moreover, similar to the plainer of the two styles in no. 24 and to two other undated inscriptions, nos. 39 and 40.

My arrangement of the Lombard material is therefore as follows:

(i) From 700–730 was a period of experiment. An interest in lettering was abroad, but there was no tradition to follow. Hence the use of 'popular' and Ravennate mannerisms. The interest in serifs, which is the motive of the style as finally evolved, was possibly suggested by Merovingian inscriptions.[16] In the Cunincpert inscription it is possible to see an experiment in classical revivalism. I should include in this group nos. 23–29, 39 and 40, of which nos. 24 and 28 mark important stages in the evolution of the typical Lombard style.

(ii) The second style is that of nos. 33, 35, 41 and 42.[17] In all these the cutting of the letters is sharp and precise with a neat, comparatively deep, cross-section. The line is almost even, never very fine. The letter-forms have neatness and elegance without extravagance. Characteristic are the G ending in a curl, the M with a short drop and all the apices tipped with serifs, N with a short diagonal and pronounced serif (this M and N are common to all Lombard styles), an egg-shaped O, pointed at the top, Q with the tail inside, and R with a curved and aggressive leg. These characteristics, very marked in the other three, are not so clear in no. 35; but all are remarkable for their borders. These are delicately carved and richly modelled, very different from the crude, flat cutting of most of the ornamental panels called Lombard; but similar to the carving on the Theodota tomb. Though the possible range of date of this style is from 712 (no. 33, dated 712–44) to 775 (the latest date for no. 35), it may reasonably be suggested that it was not evolved until 735 or 740 and that the late date of no. 35 is due to southern conservatism.[18]

(iii) A group of three inscriptions; nos. 34, 36, 37; this group is distinguished by its rather heavy-handed cutting and large, pointed serifs emphasised by their orientation; the serifs terminating the bowl of the P and leg of the R are characteristic, as are the awkward S and X. These are the least attractive of Lombard inscriptions. The style may have been current for a considerable period, since no. 34 cannot be later than 744 and no. 37 is probably dated 783.

(iv) The Theodota group, nos. 43–47, the most remarkable epigraphical creation of the period. The cutting is exquisite, the letter-forms are fantastic. The chief characteristic is the practice of prolonging the stem above the bowl or the arm of the letter and finishing it with a neat serif. The use to which these serifs are put, emphasising the elongated forms and the contrasting sensitiveness of the curves, bringing out the skilful breaking of the rhythm by the tail of the Q, or the turn of the G or the step of the R,

[16] *Cf.* the inscriptions on the tombs at Jouarre (Le Blant, I, no. 199) of 680 or on the altar at Ham of the late VII century (La Blant, I, no. 91). On the other hand the epitaph of Theophilact of 671 at Naples has the same motive and is not unlike (Silvagni vol. IV. fasc. I). The most similar script letters are also Merovingian; cf. the capitals used in Luxeuil script. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, vol. I, pl. 48.

[17] Another example is reproduced by Silvagni, II, fasc. 1, pl. xi, 2.

[18] An even later example of the same border pattern still being used is no. 123 (834).

make the brilliant originality of the style.[19] These, too, all have borders, or horizontal strips of ornament, except the tomb of Theodota, of which, in addition to the inscribed slab, three other slabs, all carved, have survived.[19a] This ornament is very close to that of the Bobbio group—perhaps a little flatter and more open. I should date this group 750–765. No. 47 seems to be an example of the style in decline.

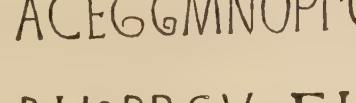
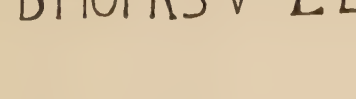
(v) Nos. 32 and 38 remain, both at Cividale, and both clearly of the Lombard school. It is interesting to notice the influence of the fully developed style of Pavia in differentiating the two. No. 38, after 760, has many Theodotan mannerisms. Neither can, however, be classed with any of the other groups, and it is reasonable to expect a style of its own in such a centre of culture as Cividale.

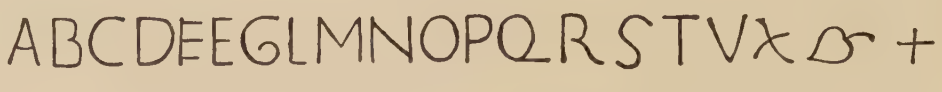
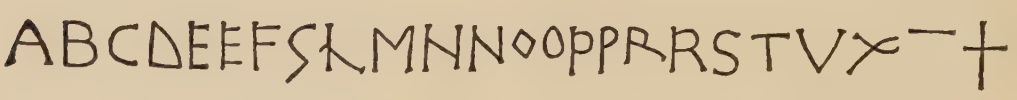
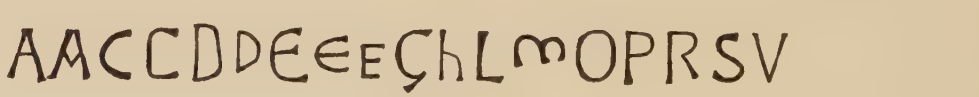
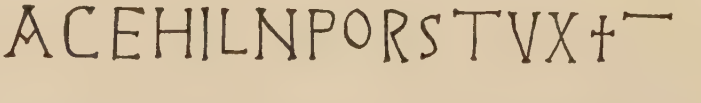
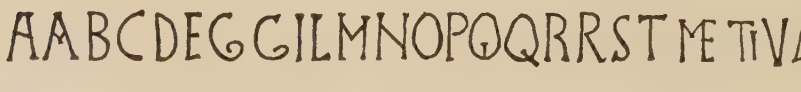
Possibly it is over-careful to divide these inscriptions into groups. The generic element is very strong. I would claim no more for the groups than that they may represent the divergent personalities of different craftsmen.

Lombard epigraphy is emphatically a court art. All the patrons are of royal blood, counts or prelates, except the unknown deacon Gisulf. In this respect it is like the Roman school and in strong contrast to the 'popular'. The Latin of the two schools is related in much the same way as that of Paul the Deacon is to the *Liber Pontificalis*. Most of the inscriptions are in verse except nos. 30 and 31 (popular) and those on works of art (nos. 32, 38 and 36, at Cividale and Modena). The majority have no abbreviations; in the whole group the only abbreviations found are: XPS, XPI, XPE, DO, D (*domino*), SCO, SPM (*spiritum*), enclitic Q, QUM (*quoniam*), EPC, TRIUPHIS, VERB(*o*), REGIB(*us*), and none occurs more than once. Misspellings are *tomulus, possomus, Iuhannis, ornabi, Bovio* (Bobbio) and *beneranda*. Ligatures are characteristic, inserted letters comparatively rare, particularly inserted O which is so noticeable in Carolingian inscriptions. The school is remarkable for the rarity of date signatures. The year is in no case given, the indiction only twice, the day of the month three times and the reign, as a date, only once (omitting the 'popular' inscriptions and text of the portions now lost of Nos. 23, 25 and 37).

[19] It is noteworthy that diagonal arms to letters such as F, L, which are found combined with interest in serifs in some Merovingian inscriptions, are not used.

[19a] Haseloff, pl. 44.

No.	Height of letters.	
23	*c.* 3·6 cm.	
39	3·1–3·3 cm.	
40	*c.* 3 cm.	
24	4·5–5 cm. and 2·5 cm.	

No.	Height of letters.	
25	3–5 cm.	
26	3–4·5 cm.	
27	4–4·5 cm.	
28	5·5–6 cm.	
29		
30	1·2–3 cm.	
31	1·5–6 cm. and 1–2·7 cm.	
33	2·8–3·8 cm., last line 2–3·3 cm.	
35	*	
42	*	
41	*	

No. Height of letters.

34 4·8–5·2 cm.

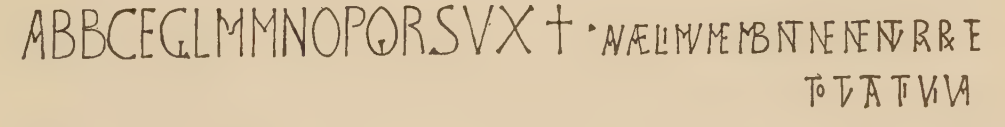
36 *c.* 4·5 cm.

37 3–4 cm.

43 3·5–5 cm., last line 2–2·5 cm.

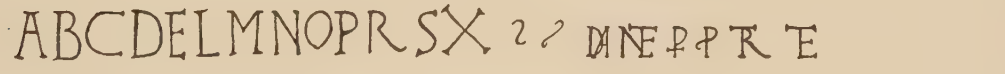
44 3·1–4·2 cm.

45 3·9–4·5 cm., last line 2·5 cm.



46 4–4·5 cm.

47 3·7–4·7 cm.



48 ‡ 5–7 cm.

32 7–8 cm.

No. Height of letters.

38 2·2–2·7 cm. and 2–2·5 cm.

No. 23 (Plate XIII, 1) 700

+ + +
AUREO EX FONTE QUIESCUNT IN ORDINE REGES
AVUS PATER HIC FILIUS HEIULANDUS TENETUR *etc.*

Pavia; in the Museo Civico. The epitaph of King Cuninçpert, in verse. Broken off across the bottom. The complete text is given correctly in *Poetae Latini* except for l. 7 *gvbernacvla* should be *gvbvernacvla* (mason's error?).

Muratori, *Antichità Estensi*, 1717, I, 73; Muratori, *Ann.* an. 700; Bianchi, not. 76, lib. VI, cap. 17; B. Oltrocchi, *Ecclesiae Mediolanensis Historia Ligustica*, 1795, 662; Troya, IV, pt. III, 50; Robolini, I, 81, note only, no text; L. Malaspina di Sannazaro, *Iscrizioni Lapidarie*, 1830, 27; *M.G.H., Poet. Lat.*, IV, pt. II, 726, no. CXLI. (with reproduction); Silvagni, II, fasc. III, pl. III. 1.

The inscription was transcribed by Muratori in 1714 when it was in the church of S. Salvatore. It was then apparently in the same fragmentary condition that it is in to-day, and there is no record of the rest of the text. Oltrocchi mentions another very small fragment on similar marble. By 1830 the inscription had passed to the collection of the Marchese Malaspina, who mentions that when he acquired it it was being used for the parapet of a well. Paul the Deacon records the burial of Cuninçpert in S. Salvatore. The first doubt on the authenticity of this inscription seems to have been cast by Oltrocchi, who protests that the mother of Cuninçpert, Rodelinda, never '*gubernacula tenuit regni*'. In view of the meagreness of the literary remains of the period this seems an insufficient reason to doubt the authenticity. Very little is known of Rodelinda. Paleographically it is certainly unlike any dated inscription of the early VIII century. But as we have already seen the few which exist show remarkable diversity. The question is fully discussed in the introduction, p. 59. It should be compared with no. 24.

The M with prolonged stems is a characteristic Lombard letter, found also at Ravenna. The G and Q are curious. Something like the G is found in VIII century Rome; the nearest to the Q is in no. 20 at Ravenna. No other inscription begins with three crosses above the first line. With this inscription must be dated nos. 39 and 40. There are no abbreviations.

No. 24 712

Ansprandus honest US MORIBUS PRUDentiA POLLENS
Sapiens modestus pATIENS SERMO ne facundus *etc.*

Pavia; in the Museo Civico. The epitaph of king Ansprand in verse. A small fragment.

Romualdus, *Flavia Papia Sacra*, 1699, pt. IV, 50; Muratori, *Antichità Estensi*, 1717, I, 74; Muratori, *Ann.*, an. 712; Bianchi: Lib. VI, note 142; Mansi, note, an. 712, in C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1742;

B. Oltrocchi, *Ecclesiae Mediolanensis Historia Ligustica*, 1795, 688, text of fragment only; Troya, IV, pt. 111, 122; M.G.H. *Poet. Lat.* IV, pt. II, 726 no. 142, with good reproduction; Silvagni, II, fasc. III. pl. 111, 2.

The inscription was first published in 1699 by P. Romuald, who transcribed the complete text. By 1795 the stone had already been broken and partly lost; Oltrocchi mentions a fragment bearing the words

ANSPRAN
APIENS MODE

as incorporated in a XVI century tomb. The surviving fragment was found by R. Majocchi during the restoration of S. Pietro Ciel d'Oro in 1895. It is chipped all over. To the right of the lettering is part of a strip of carved ornament.

Ansprand was tutor to king Aripert, father of Liutprand and for three months Liutprand's predecessor on the throne. The text of Romualdo gives the indiction as the tenth, which thus establishes the year of the accession of Liutprand. The inscription is odd, both in the use of two styles of lettering, one classical and the other compressed and mannered, and in the ornament which appears to run diagonally. The two concurrent styles, however, seem to connect the inscription of Cuninepert, no. 23, with the developments of the later Lombard school, and for this reason the fragment is very important.

Nos. 25 and 26

c. 729

No. 25 nOBILIS VASTA NITENS REDIVIVA AN FABRICA TEMPLI
rEGIA PROGENIES ORNARUNT CULMINA PULCHRE etc.

No. 26 XPE FABE VOTIS GREGORII ET AUSTRECONDE DOCIS
QUOD MUSTIOLE OPTULERUNT MARTIRE $\overline{\text{XPI}}$ *etc.*

Chiusi; S. Mustiola. No. **25**. Record of the restoration of the church of S. Mustiola in the reign of Liutprand by Arcadius at the command of Gregorius, ending with a prayer for one Sisebut. The complete text is correctly given in Mai except that l. 6 *tramites ut* should be *tramites at*; l. 8, *si non* should be *si nil*. No. **26**. Record of replacing of the ancient wooden ciborium by one of marble by Gregorius and Austreconda. The complete text is given by Liverani (l. 11, *potentissimus* should be *robustissimus*). Both inscriptions are in verse.

Ughelli, III, 672; *Acta Sanctorum*, 1719, July 1 and 3; A. F. Gori, *Inscriptiones Antiquae in Etruriae Urbibus exstantes*, 1727, II, 42; Muratori *Thes.* mdcclxxxii; P. P. Pizzetti, *Antichità Toscane*, 1778, I, 268; Marini-Mai, 144, 145; Troya, IV, pt. III, 545; Liverani, *Le Catacombe e Antichità cristiane di Chiusi*, 1872, 200.

The first letter of every line in no. 25 is either missing or mutilated. CLVSIO DICIT is inscribed vertically in front of the verse in no. 26.

The two slabs are fixed to the wall of the present church; the old church was destroyed in 1783. Pizzetti also describes a third stone. In this lost text we are given a more exact indication of date, *temporibus D. N. Liutprandi catholici regis exactis tribus lustribus et aristis duobus*, that is, the year 729. In the lost text too Arcadius is described as *praesul*. Arcadius bishop of Chiusi subscribed to the council of Rome of 743.

There has been some controversy as to whether Gregorius and Austreconda were brothers or husband and wife. They are described as *Gregorii et Austreconde docis*—not

Gregorio as given by Mai and Troya. Gregorius has been identified with the Gregorius mentioned in Paul the Deacon and created duke of Benevento by Liutprand, his uncle, about 732. This Gregorius seems to be of royal blood and is not called duke of Chiusi, only duke. Gregory was, however, a common name (though not perhaps among Lombards), and there certainly were dukes of Chiusi at this period. The connection with Austreconda implies that this Gregory was a Lombard.

No. 25 ends with a prayer to S. Mustiola for Sisebut—Troya reads *Martii Raisebuti*, but this is incorrect. It seems reasonable to suppose that this is the architect or mason. The name is Gothic. Unfortunately there are no other remains of the ciborium. This is the only text I know which refers to a marble ciborium, though remains of these are so common. In the *Liber Pontificalis* the ciboria are all of precious metals.

The Latin of the inscriptions is obscure. O and U are frequently interchanged. There are no abbreviations. The inscriptions seem to be from the same workshop if not by the same hand. They are very individual, pleasantly cut, rather shallow, wide and open. Certain forms, G and S, suggest the popular style, but the spacing and alignment are restrained and comparatively regular. The curious Y occurs also in no. 32. It is not unlike the mutilated inscription of the altar of Ratchis, no. 27. It seems quite probable that the ciborium and the altar may have come from the same sculptor's workshop.

No. 27 (Plate XIV, 2) *probably* 731–744

maXIMA DONA $\overline{\text{XPI}}$ AD CLARIT SUBLEMI CONCESSA PEMMONI UBIQUE DIRUTO foRMARENTUR TEMPLA NAM ET INTER RELIQUA domUM BEATI JOHANNIS ORNABIT PENDOLA TEGURO PULCHRO ALTARE DITABIT MARMORIS COLORE RATCHIS HIDEBOHOHRIT.

Cividale; in the church of S. Martino. Record of the restorations of Ratchis. The inscription runs round the top of the four sides of a sculptured altar. The inscription is lacking where the corners of the altar are chipped.

Fontanini, 31, with engraving; B. M. De Rubeis, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Aquilejensis*, 1740, col. 319; Muratori, *Thes.* mcmxxiii, 1; P. Canciani, *Leges Barbarorum*, 1783, II, 337; Marini-Mai, 77; Garrucci, IV, pl. 424; Troya, IV, pt. IV, 12; Cabrol and Leclercq, II, 423; C. Ceccelli, *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi*, XII, 1916, 2; A. Haseloff, pl. 45.

The church of S. Giovanni was destroyed by earthquake in 1463 and the altar was then moved to S. Martino (Cecchelli). Pemmo was deposed by Liutprand about 731 and replaced by his son Ratchis as duke of Friuli. Ratchis became king of the Lombards in 744 (Paul the Deacon). The altar therefore must probably belong to the period between 731 and 744. The Latin is obscure; *pendola* probably means objects, such as crosses, crowns, plates which the *Liber Pontificalis* records as being hung up round altars. Ducange gives *tecurium* as a synonym for *ciborium*. 'Hidebohohrit' is presumably a name like Dagileopa (no. 31).

The lettering is poor, quite unworthy of the seriousness of the carving. Certain letters, particularly the triangular D, suggest the popular school; but the inscription, though ragged, is not uneven. This indeterminate character of the epigraphy makes the probable date nearer 731 than 744; cf. nos. 25 and 26.

No. 28 *712–744*

+ HAEC XPS FUNDAMINA POSUIT FUNDATOR . . .
REGE FELICISSIMO LIUTPRAND PER EUM CE . . . . *etc.*

Modena; in the Museo Civico. Record of the establishment by King Liutprand of security and peace in what was formerly a place of dangers; in verse. Broken. The complete text is given by Duemmler, *M.G.H., Poet. Lat.*

L. Vedriani, *Historia dell'antichissima città di Modena*, 1667, pt. II, 560; Muratori, *Antiq.*, II, 196; Muratori, *Ann.*, an. 734; Muratori, *Thes.*, cdlxviii; G. Tiraboschi, *Memorie Storiche Modenesi*, 1793, I, 53; Marini-Mai, 328; P. Bortolotti, *Spicilegio Epigrafico Modenesi*, 1875, 235; Bethmann u. Holder Egger, 'Langobardische Regesten,' *Neues Archiv.*, III, 1878, 255; F. Patetta, 'Note sopra alcune iscrizioni medievali della regione Modenese,' *Mem. Acc. Modena*, serie III, vol. VI, 1906, 486; G. Bertoni, 'Sull' iscrizione di Cittanova,' *Atti R. Dep. Stor. Pat. Prov. Mod.*, serie V, vol. V, 1907; F. Patetta, 'Ancora sull' iscrizione di Cittanova,' *Mem. Acc. Modena*, ser. III, vol. VIII, 1909, 315; *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.*, 1923, IV, pt. II, CXXXIX, with good reproduction.

The stone was discovered in 1559 and walled into the façade of the parish church at Cittanova, where it was seen by Muratori in 1739. It was discovered broken off at the right side, so that the end of every line is missing. Much ingenuity has been expended on their reconstruction. The inscription is usually considered to refer to the foundation of the city of Cittanova, a place of some importance at least by Carolingian times. The letters are pleasantly but rudely cut. The squareness suggests the Ravennate tradition. The B is similar to that of no. 27. The wavy bar of the N has no parallel till no. 38. There are no abbreviations.

No. 29 *probably 712–744*

D· LUITP

Udine; in the museum. A fragment, 13 × 18 cm., excavated about 1934.

The obvious attribution is to the reign of Liutprand, 712–744, or possibly to that of Liutpert, who reigned for eight months only in 700. The extreme elongation of the letters recalls no. 19 at Ravenna. The open P terminated in a serif is, however, characteristic of Lombard inscriptions.

No. 30 (C. Plate XV, 2) *712–744*

A. + IN $\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{DNI}}$ $\overline{\text{IHV}}$ $\overline{\text{XPI}}$ DE DONIS
$\overline{\text{SCI}}$ IVHANNES *etc.*

B. . . . NOSTRO
LIOPRANDE REGE *etc.*

C. + VRSVS MA . . .
CVM DISCEPOLIS *etc.*

D. + $\overline{\text{INNON}}$ . . .

A, Verona; in Museo del Castelvecchio. B, C and D in the church at S. Giorgio di Valpolicella, on the columns from a carved ciborium. Dedication of a ciborium made by

Ursus and his pupils Juvintinus and Juvianus in the time of Liutprand, bishop Domnicus, and *custodes ejus* Vidalianus and Tancol priests, and Refol *gastald*, also Vergondus and Teodoalfo, *scari*; written by Gondelme. The complete text is given by Billo.

O. Panvinio, *Antiquitatum Veronensium*, 1647, 131 (part of text only); L. Moscardo, *Historia di Verona*, 1668, 70 (part of text only); Fontanini, 29; Maffei, *Museum Veronense*, 1749, CLXXXI (with an engraving); Muratori, *Thes.*, mdcccclxii, 3; Muratori, *Antiq.*, II, 1039; G. Venturi, *Compendio della Storia di Verona*, 1825, I, 145 (with an engraving); Marini-Mai, 183, 4; Troya, IV, pt. III, 556; Rohault de Fleury, II, 14, pl. LXXXXIII; Cattaneo. 87; V. C. Mazzanti, Un nuovo archivolto del ciborio di S. Giorgio di Valpolicella,' *Madonna Verona*, 1908; L. P. Bon, 'Intorno alla chiesa di S. Giorgio di Valpolicella,' *Madonna Verona*, 1912; L. Billo, 'Le iscrizioni veronesi,' *Arch. Ven.*, 1934, with bibliography.

It has been pointed out by L. Billo that A is the top half of B. The combined text corresponds to that given in early publications. The inscriptions were first mentioned by Panvinio in 1647, when the ciborium was apparently already dismantled but still in S. Giorgio di Vapolicella. The columns were, however, removed in the XVIII century by Maffei to his lapidary museum in Verona. It is not clear when A became separated from the rest. It was missing when the ciborium was reconstructed at S. Giorgio in 1923.

The inscription is witnessed by priests, a *gastald*, *scari* and *cives*. The name of the bishop has been read *v̄b Paternō dominico epescopo*, but *v̄b pater nō Dominico epescopo* seems preferable. C ends with the signature *'Gondelme indignus diaconus scripsi,'* presumably the clerk rather than the mason. It seems likely that the signature of Ursus *magester* and his pupils Iuvianus and Iuvintinus (*edificavet hanc civorium*) refers to the inscription as well as the carving.

Mis-spellings are frequent; *Iuhannes*, *discepolis*, *Lioprando*, *epescopo*, *costodes*, and interchangings of V and B. The nature of the text and the irregularity of the letters together with the forms used (*cf.* chart p. 163) mark this as belonging to the 'popular' school.

No. 31 (Plate XV, 1a and b) *probably* 739

+ HILDERICVS DAGILEOPA + IN HONORE
S̄C̄I PETRI ET AMORE S̄C̄I LEO ET S̄C̄I GRIGORII PRO REMEDIO
ĀM̄ VRSVS MAGESTER FECIT

Ferentillo; in the abbey of St. Peter. A dedication by Hildericus Dagileopa and the signature of the workman, Ursus *magester*. The inscription is incorporated into the design of a sculptured panel.

De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1875, 159; Rohault de Fleury, II, 171; G. Gatti, 'La Badia di Ferentillo,' *Rassegna Italiana*, 1884, vol. I; Cattaneo, 92 (incomplete text); C. de Linas, 'Les disques crucifères, le flabellum et l'umbella,' *Rev. art. chrét.*, 1883; E. Herzig, 'Die langobardischen Fragmente in der Abtei S. Pietro in Ferentillo,' *Röm. Quartalsch.* XX, 1906, 49; Toesca, I, 279, fig. 171. The best reproduction of the altar is in Haseloff, pl. 54.

De Rossi identified this and other carved uninscribed panels as part of an altar, and it has been reconstructed to form one. Herzig argues that they were intended as transennae.

In 739 Liutprand came to Spoleto and invested one Hildericus as duke (Paul the Deacon). Ferentillo was in the duchy of Spoleto and it seems possible that this is the same Hildericus. The surname 'Dagileopa' is otherwise unknown. In the same or the next year he was killed by his predecessor Transamund. It is probable, therefore, that the date of the inscription is 739. This Ursus *magester* has frequently been identified with the Ursus of no. 30, and the fact that this inscription also is an example of the 'popular' style and possibly very near in date would confirm this. The lettering of this piece is, however, more characteristically 'popular' and the carving is the most important of the few examples of abstract sculpture of the century,[20] while that at Valpolicella is indeterminate in style.[21] Ursus is a not uncommon name. On the other hand, the difference may represent the development in a gap of up to twenty-seven years. Even in 720 (a possible date for 30) neither the Lombard, nor as far as we have evidence, the 'popular' style were fully developed.

No. 32 *after 731, probably c. 740*

QUOS REGAT TRINITAS VERA + EX AQUA ET SPU REN
ATUS FUERIT NISI TESTANTE VITAM DŌ QUIS NON VIDEB
etc.

Cividale; in the cathedral. Dedication of ciborium for the font, ornamented by Callisto. Seven inscribed lines, running round the top of seven sides of an octagonal carved ciborium. The complete text is given in Cecchelli.

G. Bertoli, *Le Antichità d'Aquileia*, 1739, 440; B. M. de Rubeis, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Aquilejensis*, 1740, col. 322; Muratori, *Thes.* mdcccxlix, 3; Marini-Mai, 170; Troya, IV, pt. IV, 15; Cappelletti, VIII, 77; Garrucci, VI, pl. 424; C. Cecchelli, *Memorie storiche Forogiuliesi*, 1919, with a full bibliography; Cattaneo, 92.

On the eighth side of the canopy is an inscription recording that in 1463 it was rebuilt, and in 1645 removed *e sacrario deiecto*, to its present position. It is debateable whether it has been correctly re-erected. The inscription was first copied by Locatello in 1574, to whose MS. Bertoli refers. It seems that the canopy was already in need of repair when the panels were added—*'hoc restituit Sigualdʼ*, 762–786, *v.* no. 38.

Callisto was patriarch of Aquileia, the see which had always been under Lombard patronage. About 731 he moved his residence to Cividale, the centre of cultural and political life in the duchy. It seems probable that the ciborium was erected after he had moved there.

The inscription is well cut and the letters are round and elegant. There is a marked contrast between thick and thin in the modelling of the curves—a characteristic of the Theodota group, which is absent in most other styles of epigraphy of the time. The F is peculiar, though common before 800. The peculiar X occurs in the other Cividalese inscription, no. 38, also in 'popular' inscriptions (nos. 50 and 53).

[20] *v.* conclusions p. 56. By abstract I mean sculpture of the same aesthetic nature as 'popular' inscriptions, not the panels of interlacing and other decorative motives which abound.

[21] It may be classed as an undeveloped example of the style of carving associated with nos. 32, 33, 36 and 43.

No. 33 *probably 740–744*

+ HIC SACRA BEATI MEMBRA CU
MIANI SOLVUNTUR *etc.*

Bobbio; in the crypt of S. Columbano. Epitaph of bishop Cumian, commemorating in verse his journey in old age from Ireland (Scothia) to Italy, his life for seventeen years at Bobbio and his death at the age of ninety; also the erection of his tomb by Liutprand and its execution by Joannes *magister*. The complete text is given in Cipolla.

Ughelli, IV, 1332; *Acta Sanctorum*, 1867, June 9th, p. 244; Mabillon, *Ann.* an 722; Bianchi, note 246, Lib. VI; Muratori, *Antiq.* III, 681; B. Rosetti, *Bobbio illustrato*, 1795, III, 58; M. Remondini, *Memorie intorno alle iscrizioni antiche di Bobbio*, 1886, 34; M. Remondini, *Atti. soc. Ligure di Stor. Pat.* XII, 1887, 46; M. Stokes, *Six Months in the Apennines*, 1892, 170; C. Cipolla, *Codice Diplomatico di S. Columbano di Bobbio*, 1918, 118; *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.* I., 107; Toesca, I, 342, fig. 213; Silvagni, II, fasc. III, pl. IV, 8.

The inscription is surrounded by a beautifully carved ornamental border and the slab was probably originally the cover to the tomb of S. Cumian and meant to lie horizontally, like that of Theodota; the doves on the border are upside down to the lettering; the pattern is almost identical with one of those on the tomb of Theodota. The back has been carved with interlacings which are very crude compared with the border; I should attribute them to the IX century, or possibly X century, in which case the tomb must have been very quickly dismembered. The inscription was early recorded in the *Chronicon Bobbiense*, whence it was first published by Ughelli in 1652.

Bishop Cumian has been identified with various Irish priests of that name, but not conclusively. There is therefore no evidence of date beyond the fact that the inscription was commissioned by Liutprand 712–744. But the developed style and the similarity to no. 35 suggest a date towards the end of the reign (p. 60).

The inscription is beautifully cut on a fine piece of marble. The X is remarkable. Bobbio is spelt *Bovio*.

No. 34 (Plate XIII, 2) *probably c.* 740

+ D. LIUTPRAND REXV. . . .

Bobbio; crypt of S. Columbano. Fragment.

C. Cipolla, *Codice Diplomatico di S. Colombano di Bobbio*, 135.

The inscription was discovered during restorations of the crypt in 1910. Epigraphically it is similar to nos. 36 and 37, which suggests a date at the end of the reign.

No. 35 *? 773*

+ HIC/REQUI/ESCIT/IN PA/CE/VITA/LIA/NUS/SERVUS/$\overline{\text{XPI}}$ $\overline{\text{EPC}}$

Osimo; in the cathedral crypt. Epitaph of bishop Vitalianus.

F. A. Zaccaria, *Auximatium Episcoporum Series*, 1764, 53, with an engraving; D. Pannelli, *Memorie de' Santi Vitaliano e Benvenuto*, 1763, ii; P. Compagnoni, *Memorie della Chiesa e de' Vescovi di Osimo*, I, 1782, 188, 195; Garrucci, V, pl. 393; Cattaneo, 143; Cappelletti, VII, 494; L. Serra, *L'Arte nelle Marche* 1929, 34, with reproduction.

The tomb and body of S. Vitalianus were discovered in 1513. He was bishop of

Osimo and present at the Council in Rome in 743. Monsignor Zacchi, bishop of Osimo in 1461, in a work now lost but cited by all the XVIII century antiquaries, stated that he reigned 30 years and died during the pontificate of Hadrian I, 772–795. This would date the epitaph to *c.* 773. The design of the border round this inscription is almost a replica of that of no. 33; but the execution is very inferior. It should be compared also with no. 123. The letters are more awkward and angular than in the North Italian inscriptions. It belongs to group ii (p. 60). Osimo finally passed to the papacy in 774, having been held by the Lombards since c. 727.

No. 36 749–785

STE · LOPICENUS · LICET. . . .

Modena; in the Museo del Duomo. Fragment.

Casini, *R. Dep. Stor. Pat. Prov. Mod.*, serie V, vol. V, XVI; F. Patetta, 'Studi Storici e note sopra alcune iscrizioni medievali,' *Mem. Acc. Modena*, serie III, vol. VIII, 1909, 348, with good reproduction; G. Bertoni, *Atlante storico-paleografico del Duomo di Modena*, 1909, 13, with similar reproduction.

The carved stone on which the inscription is cut is curved at the bottom, which suggests that it was originally one side of a ciborium. The fragment was discovered in 1906 when one of the altars of the cathedral was demolished.

A bishop Lopicenus is mentioned in a diploma of Aistolf (749–756), the authenticity of which has been doubted (Troya, *Cod. Dipl. Long.* DCLVI; *Regesto della chiesa cathedrale di Modena*, ed. E. P. Vicini, 1931, no. 1). Ughelli puts his occupation of the see between 749 and 785.

The lettering is bold, with considerable variation of thick and thin. The serifs are prominent and tend to be set diagonally. There is a stop between each of the surviving words. The lettering runs below a carved strip of ornament. Below the lettering at the side is the monogram of Lopicenus, in the centre an incised cross and incised flourishes. These are similar to the incised flourishes in no. 41.

No. 37 *probably* 783

+ QUAMVIS AETHERIA REGNIT IN ARCE SACERDOS
CONGRUUM EST SANCTIS REDDERE VOTA PIIS etc.

Milan; in the crypt of the church of S. Calimero. A record in verse of the construction and decoration of a shrine for S. Calimero by Thomas. Now broken at both bottom corners. The complete text, including that now lost, is given in De Rossi.

Sylloge Epigrammatum Mediolanensium (Saec XI), in De Rossi, II, 177 (first 2 lines only; the complete text is given and discussed in the note); *Liber Notitiae Sanctorum Mediolani*, ed. Magestretti and Monneret de Villard, 1927, 194; Fontana in C.I.L. V, 619; Alciatus *ibid.*; L. Biraghi. *Datiana Historia Ecclesiae Mediolanensis*, 1848, 54; Marini-Mai, 191; C. F. Savio, *Gli Antichi Vescovi d'Italia*, Milano, 1913, 81; Forcella, I, 347, no. 505; *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.* I, 108; Silvagni, II, fasc. I, pl. V, 3.

The complete text has been preserved '*ex vetustissimo codice*' in the MS collection of Alciatus 1492–1550, in the MS collection of Fontana, '*e vetere membrana*', and also in the

Liber Notitiae Sanctorum Mediolani (XIII century). The latter records that *beatus Thomas mediolanensis archiepiscopus circa a.d. DCCLXXXIII fecit deaurari hoc altare sancti Kalimeri.* No trace now remains of decoration or of the tomb, so that it is impossible to conjecture the original position of the inscription; but the text of the inscription itself '*in explendo opere lucifluo quod vernat cunctis niveo vernante metallo*' suggests that it was part of a fairly elaborate scheme. Thomas was archbishop of Milan for twenty-eight years, probably from 755 to 783. S. Calimero was bishop from 138 to 191. The text of Alciatus gives a date, 780; but his version is very inaccurate. The *Liber Notitiae*, which is more reliable, gives 783.

No. 38 (A. Plate XIV, 4) 762–786

A. + HOC TIBI RESTITUIT · SIGUALD · BAPTESTA IOHANNES
B. + IVRA SACERDOTI
S LUCAS TENIT ORE *etc.*

Cividale; in the cathedral.

Record of the restoration of the baptistry by Sigualд (A), inscribed on a slab carved with representations of the evangelists. Each evangelist holds a panel inscribed with verses taken from Sedulius (B). Two of these verses are repeated on a second mutilated panel showing two evangelists only. The complete text is given in Cecchelli.

G. Fontanini, *Comentario di Santa Colomba*, 1726, 75 (no text); G. Bertoli, *Le Antichità d'Aquileia*, 1739, 440 (incomplete text); Marini-Mai, 171; Troya, IV, pt. IV, 15; C. Cecchelli, 'Arte barbarica cividalese,' *Mem. Stor. Forogiuliesi* (with full bibliography), 1919, 76; Haseloff, pl. 46, 47; Cattaneo, 92, figs. 35 and 36.

The two slabs now form a balustrade to the ciborium of Callisto (no. 32). As Haseloff points out, the carvings are by different hands. The inscriptions, however, are clearly the work of one man.

Sigualд was patriarch 762–782. *Iuhannis* is written for *Iohannis* and *baptesta* for *baptista.* The inscription is very neatly done.

No. 39 *probably c.* 700

ISTE SAGRIST. . . .
ATQUE SA . . .
PACIFICUS CON . . .
PERVIGILOR . . .

Pavia; in the Museo Civico. Probably an epitaph; a fragment.

The fragment has an undecorated border on the left and at the bottom—showing it to give the first words of the last lines of the inscription. The letters are nicely cut and the fine lines are beautifully precise. Alternate lines are indented. *v.* Group i (p. 60). Paleographically similar to no. 23.

No. 40 (Plate XIV, 1) *probably c. 700*

SUSCIPE TERRA TUUM GERMEN DE CARNE CREATUM
QUOD CELESTE FUIT CELSA POLI RAPUIT *etc.*

Pavia; church of S. Marino. Epitaph of Gisulf the deacon in verse. Robolini, who gives complete text, gives *svscipet* instead of *svscipe* (l. 4).

F. A. Zaccaria, *Excursus Litterarii per Italiam*, 1754, 211; Robolini, I, 219; Silvagni, II, fasc. III, pl. III, 9.

The top left corner of the stone is cracked, but the text seems complete. The Anonymus Ticinensis (XIV century) records that the church of S. Marino was built by Aistolf (749–756). If this tradition is true it is, however, not conclusive, as the inscriptions of Pavia seem to have been moved from church to church. The simplicity of its paleography relates it to no. 23 and no. 40. It is cut with delicacy. The M is remarkable; a long drop is rare (*cf.* no. 32).

No. 41 *probably 740–750*

A. . . . S DE BELLA R . . .
. . . IT SERMONE LO . . .
. . . US DULCIDO LOQUI . . .
. . . LURA RETI CUI
. . . M HOC IPSUM SUMMU TI . . .
. . . PME TELARI
. . . T DOMINE VENIO.

B . . . NI
. . . CAX
. . . ETAM
. . . ENDO
. . . AE

Pavia; in the garden of the Casa Anelli. Fragments of two inscriptions, or of the same inscription.

R. Soriga, 'Le lapidi longobarde del monastero pavese di Sant' Agata al monte,' *Bib. Soc. Stor. Subalpina*, CXXX, 1932; Silvagni, II, fasc. III, pl. III, 4.

The inscriptions were found on the site of S. Agata al Monte, a famous Lombard monastery. Both the letter-forms and the carved border are so similar that these fragments must be by the same hand if they are not actually from the same inscription. The text appears to be an epitaph in verse. The spaces between the end of the line and the border are filled up with free incised flourishes; both more complicated and more free than is usual. The paleography and the carved border recall no. 33 and Group 2.

No. 42 (Plate XIX, 2) *probably 740–750*

. . . O MEI MERITUMQUE SIMUL IACENTES
. . . RETICEAM INTONAT HAEC FAMA PER ORBEM
. . . MATER QUIESCIT VIRGINUM CARNE
. . . CIS CONIUNCTA COETIBUS GAUDET
. . . MORIBUS STIRPE PROPAGATA MAIOR . . .
. . . SIBI COMISSAM NAVITER IS . . .
. . . BLANDO COR . . .

Pavia; in the garden of the Casa Anelli. Fragment of an epitaph of an abbess.

R. Soriga, 'Le lapidi longobarde del monastero pavese di Sant' Agata al monte,' *Bib. Soc. Stor. Subalpina*, CXXX, 1932; Silvagni, II, fasc. III, pl. III, 5.

Found on the site of the monastery of S. Agata al Monte; cf. no. 41, and Group ii, p. 60. An ornamental border runs along the top.

No. 43 (Plate XIV, 3) *735 or 750*

Cum describere non POSSIM · THEodotae terrenae
CaeliculE SIC DEMUM Ejus prosapiam texam *etc.*

Pavia; in the Museo Civico. Epitaph in verse of Theodota, an abbess of royal descent, who for many years ruled her monastery conscientiously and so restored and ornamented the fabric *nec sunt in orbe tales praeter palatia regum nec sanctas ecclesias quae vibrant fundamine claro*. The ornamentation of her sarcophagus has been the sorrowful care of her pupil and successor, Theodota. She died in the 3rd indiction.

The only correct text of the words which remain legible to-day is in the *Poetae Latini*, except that *Qnm* (line 10) is there expanded to *quoniam* and *aflicto* spelt *afflicto* (l. 13).

Romualdus, *Flavia Papia Sacra*, 1699, from MS. of Bossi; Bianchi, note 157, Lib. V.; Muratori, *Ann.*, an. 700; B. Oltrocchi, *Ecclesiae Mediolanensis Historia Ligustica*, 1795, 582; G. and D. Sacchi, *Antichità Romantiche d'Italia*, 1828, Saggio I Appendix, 258–67; D. Sacchi, An essay appended to *Iscrizioni Lapidarie* of L. Malaspina di Sannazaro, 1830; Robolini, 157; Troya, IV, pt. III, 66; *M.G.H. Poet Lat.* IV, fasc. II, CXL, with good reproduction; Silvagni, II, fasc. III, pl. III, 3.

The inscription was originally part of a sarcophagus now also in the Pavia museum (Haseloff, pl. 34). Some time before 1462, when part of the sarcophagus was used for a new inscription, the tomb was dismantled and the inscription placed above a door. Here it was seen and partially transcribed by Bossi in 1604; it was later used as a doorstep and the central section of the inscription thus totally defaced. In 1791 it was moved from the door and fixed to a wall. In 1832 it was bought, with the pieces of the sarcophagus, also surviving in the buildings of the then suppressed monastery of S. Maria in Pusterla or di Teodota, by the Marchese Malaspina di Sannazaro, and passed to the museum in 1897. The stone is cracked as well as being worn in the middle.

The publications of this inscription have all (except that of Bianchi) included a

commentary on the identity of the two Theodotas. The controversy has been enlivened by the uncertainty of the text, all the last words of the first half and all the first words of the last half (it is in double column) being known only from the transcription of Bossi, which is neither quite complete nor entirely accurate. The natural identification is with the only known lady of the name, the *puella ex nobilissimo Romanorum genere orta, eleganti corpore et flavis prolixisque capillis pene usque ad pedes decora* whom Paul the Deacon mentions (Lib. V. 37) as a mistress of King Cuninc pert (reigned 680–700), and later placed by him *in monasterium quod de illius nomine intra Ticinum appellatum est*, the same monastery of S. Maria in Pusterla, whence comes the inscription. Would a lady of Roman race be described as *regali linea splendet*? Would she have been rich enough to build with the magnificence described? An alternative suggestion is that the Roman lady is the second Theodota mentioned in the inscription, and that the elder Theodota was a sister of Perctarit and aunt of Cuninc pert. This is argued by Oltrocchi. Perctarit had a sister who was an abbess and a benefactor of the church, but there is no evidence that her name was Theodota. Perctarit was born *c.* 643. This abbess did not die young, so if his sister were she, her death might be placed between *c.* 690–735. Cuninc pert's Theodota must have been young between 680 and 700; the date of her death in this case would therefore more probably be sometime after 720.

The inscription is dated in the 3rd indiction, which falls 705, 720, etc. We have seen (p. 59) that the paleography of the inscriptions of the reign of Liutprand makes 705 extremely unlikely for this inscription. The only one of this group (43–46) which can be dated with any assurance is no. 46 (763). This (no. 43) is the least elegant of the group and therefore perhaps the earliest. The most probable date is therefore 750, certainly not before 735; which means that it is most probably the epitaph of Cuninc pert's Theodota.

No. 44 *probably* 740–750

. . . CONDITA PRIORUM
RAGINTHRUDA PIIS SEMPER *etc.*

Pavia; in the Museo Civico. The epitaph in verse of Raginthruda, a queen who died young. Fragmentary. The complete text is given in Troya (with abbreviations expanded).

L. Schrader, *Monumentorum Italiae*, 1592, 359; L. A. Muratori, *Delle Antichità Estensi*, I, 73; Robolini, I, 211; Troya, IV, pt. IV, 156; Silvagni, II, fasc. III, pl. II, 1.

Both top and bottom are missing; the inscription was already broken when it was first transcribed in 1592 by Schrader. It was then in the church of S. Maria in Pertica. By 1823 it had been removed to the house of the Marchese Malaspina. Thence it passed to the museum.

No Queen Raginthruda is mentioned in any document. The church of S. Maria in Pertica was founded by Rodelinda, wife of Perctarit, and most probably built between 672 and 688. All the Lombard kings between Aripert and Ansprand were buried in S. Salvatore, but Ansprand and Liutprand were buried in the chapel of S. Adriano, which was in the cemetery of S. Maria in Pertica. It seems slightly more probable, therefore,

that Raginthruda may have been Queen to Liutprand or one of his successors, rather than one of his predecessors. Troya suggests that she was the wife of Hildeprand, Liutprand's nephew and associate king 735–744. The inscription is neat, the letters being confined between double lines ruled across the stone; the ornamental border shows on either side. The flourishes are used to excellent decorative effect; epigraphically this belongs to Group 4. This would correspond with Raginthruda being the wife of Hildeprand.

No. 45 (Plate XIII, 3) *probably* 750–760

+ DISCE QUI VELLIS NOSSE QUID TEGIT TOMULUS ISTE
QUALIS ET IMAGO PRAETIOSO CLAUDITUR SAXO *etc.*

Pavia; in the Gabinetto dell' Archeologia dell' Università. The epitaph in verse of Cunincperga, abbess, daughter of king Cunincpert. Incomplete. The complete surviving text is given in *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.* The reading of Troya (taken from Oltrocchi, as is that given by Robolini) has several mistakes.

Romualdus, *Flavia Papia Sacra*, 1699, 95; Bianchi, Lib. V, note 144; B. Oltrocchi, *Ecclesiae Mediolanensis Historia Ligustica*, 1795, II, 600; Robolini, I, 172; Troya, IV, pt. iii, 78; *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.* IV, fasc. II, 727, CXLIV; Soriga, 'Le lapidi langobarde del monastero pavese di Sant' Agata al monte' in *Bib. Soc. Stor. Subalpina*, CXXX, 1932, with reproduction; Silvagni, II, fasc. III, pl. II, 3.

The inscription was first published by Romualdo from the transcription of Bossi (1604). It was still in the church of S. Agata in 1823 (Robolini, I, 173), but by 1828 it had been acquired by the Marchese Malaspina. None of its transcribers ever saw the stone complete; it is broken on the right side so that more than half of each line in the second column is missing. It is much rubbed, particularly at the bottom.

There is no other record of Cunincperga. She was presumably abbess of the monastery of S. Agata, founded by her grandfather Perctarit. Cunincpert reigned from 680 to his death in 700. He is described by Paul the Deacon as *parvulus* in 662. If, as Oltrocchi suggests, and Troya accepts, S. Maria di Teodota was created as part of the same foundation as the monastery of S. Agata, Cunincperga could only have become abbess after the death of both Theodotas. The date of this inscription would then depend on that of no. 43. I should place it paleographically between nos. 43 and 46, perhaps between 750 and 760.

The inscription is divided into two columns to make an oblong panel. The last line in each column is cramped, presumably owing to the mason's miscalculation. It is surrounded by a border. The cutting is now very shallow and must always have been delicate rather than bold.

No. 46 *probably* 763

SUB REGIBUS LIGURIAE DUGATUM TENUIT AUDAX
AUDOALD ARMIPOTENS CLARIS NATALIBUS ORTUS *etc.*

Pavia; in the Museo Civico. The epitaph in verse of Audoald, duke of or in Liguria, who died at about the age of sixty after having won fame and glory in war. It is dated

prima indictio die nonarum juliarum feria quinta. Troya's text gives several incorrect readings. In the *M.G.H. didymus* is given for *didimus* (l. 6), *quantusqave* for *quantusquae* (l. 9), and *SPM* is expanded to *spiritum* (l. 12).

L. A. Muratori, *Delle Antichità Estensi*, 1717, I, 74; Berretta, *Tabula chorographica Italiae*, 1727, col. XXXVIII; Durandi, *Del Collegio degl' Antichi Cacciatori Pollentini*, 1773, 95; P. Pizzetti, *Antichità Toscane*, 1781, 305; Troya, IV, pt. III, 269; *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.* IV, fasc. II, 727, CXLIII; with good reproduction; Silvagni, II, fasc. III, pl. II, 1.

The first notice is that of Muratori, who in 1717 saw the inscription in the atrium of S. Maria in Pertica. Robolini (I, 84) records that in 1823 it was in the Palazzo Malaspina. Audoald is otherwise unknown. The day of the week given in the text in conjunction with the indiction confines the possible years for his death to 628, 673, 718 and 763. S. Maria in Pertica was founded by Queen Rodelinda after 672. The other indication of date is the reference to the wars in which Audoald was so successful. Pizzetti suggests Liutprand's expedition against the Exarchate in 743 and Troya, considering the reference to *hostes finitimos* (l. 3), his expedition to help Charles Martel against the Saracens in Provence in 739. The words *sub regibus* (l. 1) seem to imply two kings ruling together; Perctarit and Cunincpert ruled together 680–688, Liutprand and Hildeprand from 735 to 744. The most probable date therefore seems after 740, *i.e.*, in 763. This is the most beautiful of the whole group and, therefore, perhaps the latest. It is more spacious than that of Raginthruda, but unlike that of Theodota the spacing is calculated to create rhythm and variety. The invention—for they do not occur elsewhere—of various forms of Q and G is free and felicitous. Instead of a border it has two horizontal strips of ornament.

No. 47 *probably c.* 800

PASSUS P X isto loculo iaceT UNUS IN ISTO
MATRIBUS EX DĒptis pueris ad hero DE P̄TEPemTIS *etc.*

Pavia; in the Museo Civico. A list of relics preserved in a church. The words which remain conform to the text of Zaccaria except that he has expanded the abbreviations and read *dentem* for *dente* (l. 9).

F. A. Zaccaria, *Excursus Litterarii per Italiam*, 1754, 210; Robolini, IV, 407; Silvagni, II, fasc. III, pl. IV, 7.

The inscription was first copied by Bossi (1604), and published in 1754 by Zaccaria as in the church of S. Giovanni in Borgo. The middle words in each line have since become illegible through the stone having been much rubbed and worn, as if it had been used for a doorstep; the first six lines are altogether missing. The words are inscribed between lines as in no. 44. The letter-forms are mostly those of the Theodota style but cut without delicacy or sensitiveness. The P-ligatures do not, however, otherwise occur till the IX century (except in no. 49). The abbreviations *p* for *per* and *pro* and *m* omitted also suggest a late date.

No. 48 *either c. 740 or a late XVI century forgery*

+ VMILIB VOTA SVSCIPE $\overline{\text{DNE}}$ DD NNR LIVTPRA NTE ILP RA
etc.

Bologna; in the Cortile of S. Stefano, round a stone vase, 400 cm. in circumference.

The inscription is so full of abbreviations that all readings are uncertain. The text apparently dates to the reign of Liutprand and Hildeprand and bishop Barbatus and refers to the liturgical purpose of the vase. The complete text is given in one of the reproductions.

Donato Pullieni Lupari, *Cronica di S. Stefano*, 1600, 202; G. N. P. Alidosi, *Vescovi Bolognesi*, 1621, 5; Ughelli, II, 12; Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, I, 200; C. Malvasia, *Marmora Felsina*, 1690, 182; Marini-Mai, 192; Troya, IV, pt. IV, 5; Muratori, *Thes.*, mdcccxl, 5; G. Belvederi, 'La Liturgia della Passione a Gerusalemme e in occidente,' *Riv. Arch. Crist.*, 1931, with reproduction; Testi-Rasponi, 'Note marginali al Liber Pontificalis di Agnello,' *Atti R. Dep. Stor. Patr. Prov. Romagna*, 1912, 156; C. Ricci, *Boll. d'Arte* 1913, 281, with reproduction. The bibliography is very large. I give only a selection.

The inscription was first published in 1600 by Pullieni, one of the Celestine monks who then occupied S. Stephano. The authenticity is dubious. C. Ricci has convincingly asserted that the vase on which it is carved is of the Renaissance. It is certainly unlike anything Lombard. The letter-forms are, in general, indeed similar to those of the Theodota group, but a comparison of the alphabets will show various peculiarities not found in the other inscriptions (G, Q and in particular B and R); the number, complication and frequency of the ligatures and abbreviations is unparalleled. This may, however, be simply accounted for by the restricted circumference of the vase, and the vase itself may be classical. But it must be remembered that it was just about the time of its first publication that Bossi was making his collection of the Lombard inscriptions at Pavia. Lombard epigraphy was, therefore, beginning to be known and prized, and an example might well be considered to add to the dignity of a church.

V. THE POPULAR SCHOOL OF THE VIII CENTURY

It remains to treat of the inscriptions, singled out from each of the three divisions we have studied, which we have described as 'barbaric' or 'popular'. Besides the dated examples already listed, nos. 14, 18, 30, 31, there are a number of undated inscriptions which are obviously related to them. These are found at Rimini, Adria, Bologna, Ferrara, Civita Castellana, and again in Rome.

What is it which these inscriptions have in common? The first thing of which one is aware is a common approach to letter-cutting; the letters are cut vigorously and decisively, but they are not cut to any formal canon. Here is no adherence to the classical idea that the mason's art is to make each letter realise its one form. Several forms may be used in one short inscription. Each letter as it recurs is a thing to be made in a new way, a starting point for variety, not uniformity. And the relation between the letters is again not governed by the classical rules—they are often wildly irregular both in size and alignment—yet they are so combined together that they make up a whole having some self-determining order and felicity. These inscriptions are in

fact surely examples of abstract art; the typical barbarian art (see also conclusion, p. 156).

The group has also in common the use of a number of letter-forms, borrowed from various traditions, uncial script-forms, Merovingian forms, forms from the old Roman tradition, which are rare or unknown in other inscriptions of the period; the uncial forms of D, H, M, and U, the very open, rather angular M, A with a bar across the top, (peculiar to Rome), a triangular D, G with a curved, detached spur, the small round O and the lozenge shaped O, Q like a reversed P, or a small O standing on its tail—the usual forms of Q at this period, with the tail inside, or a small projection at the side, are never used. So many remarkable letter-forms peculiar to a set of inscriptions clearly constitute a definite school. A chart of the forms occurring in each inscription is appended. It may be noted that certain of the more extravagant characteristics of Lombard epigraphy also occur among these inscriptions, notably letters with stems projecting above or below the horizontal limbs as in E, F, L, P. Curiously this mannerism is applied by the Lombard school to B, and by the 'popular' school to R, but not vice versa. Various forms of eccentric X are also common to both schools.

Six of this group of fourteen are connected with, or actually part of, some piece of sculpture, while notably the formal flourishes and borders of the other contemporary inscriptions do not occur. Nine are actually records of the erection of some monument—a church, a pulpit, a well, a cross. All the rest (except no. 55, a donation of goods) are epitaphs. It is notable that they are all quite short, there is no expatiating on the virtues or exploits of the deceased or the splendour of the monument. Instead the text begins with some formula: *in nomine Domini, credo quia redemptorem vivit, hic requiscit in pace*, for the epitaphs, which often end with a formula of anathema against any violator of the tomb; for the donations, *de donis Dei et sci N* or again *in nomine Domini*, it then records the name and degree of the person in question, perhaps the nature of the donation, and probably the date, usually by the name of the local bishop and the indiction—the year is never given—and that is all. There is no attempt at verse. Instead the language is rudimentary, Latin losing the sense of case or agreement, in fact evidence of the obscure transition from Latin to Italian. Abbreviations are very common and often obscure; *ind* for *indictio* and *prb* for *presbiter* seem to be consistent. Certain mis-spellings are common, particularly B for V; U is substituted for O; H is dropped at the beginning of a word and *cot* occurs for *quod*. These tendencies appear in other schools, but here they are much more pronounced.

The people whose names are given are of much the same social status, and, as the nature of the texts suggest, not persons of high standing. The only historic figure is Hildericus Dagileopa, if he is to be identified with Hildericus, Duke of Spoleto (no. 31). The others are private people, Stephen, Gregory, Anastasius *maiordomus*, a priest, or perhaps a local bishop or *dux*.

We have seen that this group, which is epigraphically similar, is homogeneous in other ways. Is our first description 'barbaric' also justifiable? The epigraphical evidence seems to indicate this. Not only is there the relationship with Pavian letter-forms, but both in forms and in aesthetic nature the nearest things to these inscriptions are Merovingian inscribed rings, which are numerous and have a very distinct style.[22] On

[22] *v.* M. Deloche, *Les Anneaux Sigillaires*, 1900, *e.g.*, nos. CXXVII, CLXXXVI, CCLXVII, etc.

the other hand, the names mentioned are not, in the main, barbarian names, nor are most of the inscriptions found in territory which was under Lombard rule. Germanic names occur in nos. 30, 31 and 52, but side by side with classical names.[23] In all the other examples the names are Latin or Greek,[24] though, particularly in the case of clerks, this does not necessarily preclude the bearers being of barbarian stock.[25] It is also notable that all the artists' names are classical.[26] Nos. 30 and 31 are also the only examples of this style found in what was definitely Lombard territory (Spoleto and Valpolicella). A map of the others show that they are in Rome itself, on the borders or in the Exarchate, and along the line of communication between Rome and Ravenna, the strip of territory which separated the Lombard kingdom from the Lombard duchy of Spoleto, and was continually threatened, and under Liutprand and his successors constantly conquered by the Lombards and reclaimed by the Popes. The evidence of content seems to be definitely against the idea that this is a barbaric style, in the racial sense of the word. I have therefore chosen the unequivocal designation *popular*.

The date at which the style can be said to have been formed depends on the dating of nos. 18 and 30, both of which present a wide margin. It would seem to have been about 720.[27] Nos. 101B, 106 and 107 seem to be the latest examples of the original style (828, and 844–847).

No. 54 is omitted from the chart because it is too mutilated to be certain that it belongs to the group.

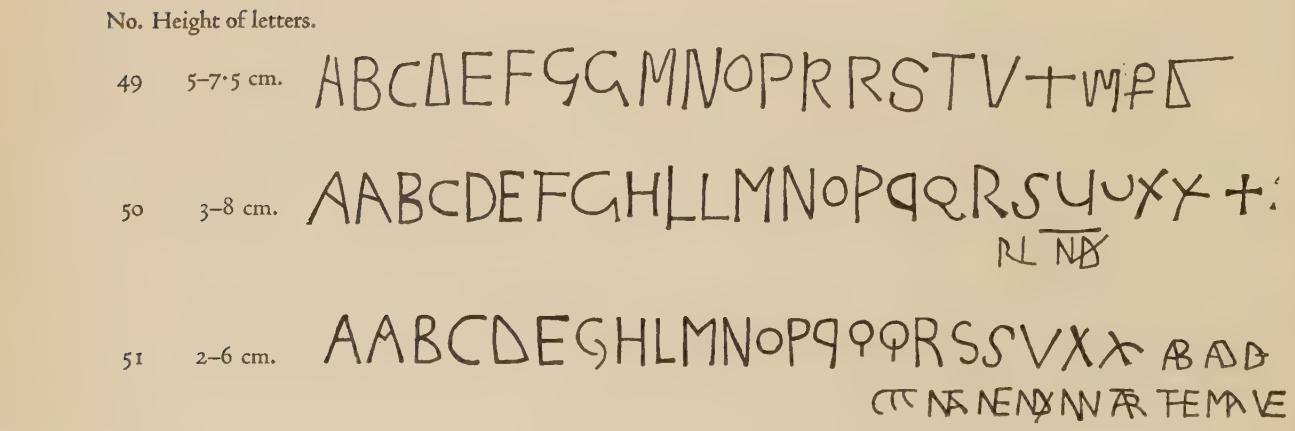
[23] No. 30: Ursus, Juvintinus, Juvianus, Domnicus, Vidalianus with Tancol, Refol, Vergondus, Teodoalfo, Gondelme. No. 31: Ursus with Hildericus Dagileopa. No. 52: Bonus, Julianus, Martinus, Lupicus with Romald.

[24] Gregorius (2), Vincentius, Martinus and Agnellus, Venerius, Barbatus, Antonius (3), and Adrianus, Anastasius, Stephanus.

[25] Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, suggests that German *vulfo* and *bera* root forms were sometimes translated *lupus* and *ursus*. In which case a classical name ceases to be any indication of race, but not of course vice versa; *v.* also no. 26, where we have a Lombard duke of royal blood called Gregory.

[26] Ursus, Juvintinus, Juvianus, Julianus, Martinus.

[27] Both in Le Blant and in de Rossi there are reproductions of inscriptions dated to the VI or VII centuries which in some letter-forms and in a general irregularity foreshadow our style, inscriptions often described as *litteris rudis*, but, though it is difficult to be sure without a representative collection of good reproductions, the style does not seem to have been fully formed, nor the irregularity become transformed into design, till the VIII century.



No. Height of letters.

53 A 2–4·5 cm. B 3–6 cm.

54 2–3 cm.

55 3–6 cm.

56 2·5–5·5 cm.

57

58 5–10 cm.

No. 49 (Plate XXIV, 1) *perhaps* 749

+ DE DONIS DEI ET SCI MARIE ET SCI STEFANI
TEMPORIBVS (dn) GEORGIO VB EPS HVNC PERGVM FECIT P̄ IND SEC

Ferrara; in the Museo del Duomo. Dedication of the ambone in the time of Bishop George and the 2nd indiction. Round top of a curved sculptured pulpit, in two pieces.

Muratori, *Antiq.* V, 358; F. S. Maffei. *Verona illustrata*, 1732, p. 1, p. in fogl. 367; C. C. Malvasia, *Marmora Felsinea*, 189; Rohault de Fleury, III, 23, with good engraving; Haseloff, pl. 52.

The ambone was first recorded at the end of the XVII century, when it was at the house of the priest at Voghenza. At the beginning of the XVIII century the archbishop of Ferrara moved it and eventually deposited it in the court of the university at Ferrara. It has recently been moved to the cathedral museum. Voghenza was the original see,

which was later transferred to Ferrara. Muratori suggests that the bishop is George of Ravenna, 835–846. R. de Fleury points out that inscriptions of this period always refer to the archbishop, not the bishop, of Ravenna, and suggest the period 686–772, when the names of the bishops of Voghenza are unknown.

The inscription is a pleasing one with great tall letters; it is reminiscent of no. 31 in its largeness, and in certain letters, G and R in particular, and in the general range of irregularity. The protruding serif of the R is a Lombard characteristic, found also in no. 14. The carving, of peacocks and vines, is also not unlike no. 31 in the way that it is conceived on two flat planes. The 2nd indiction falls 719, 734, etc. ꝑ, however, is an abbreviation not usually found till the IX century (*v.* no. 47 and alphabet of no. 7).

No. 50 *VIII century*

\+ HIC REQVIESCIT IN PA
CE D̄N̄ MARTINVS DUX *etc.*

Rimini; in the museum. Epitaph of Martinus *Dux* and his son Agnellus, who died in April of the 11th indiction and September of the 12th indiction, respectively. On a Roman sarcophagus. The complete text is given by Muratori.

Muratori, *Thes.*, mcmx, 1.

Muratori, who first published this inscription, quotes his source '*Arimini apud co. Garampum, misit Johannes Blancus.*' He quotes a Ravennate charter of 896 as mentioning a Martinus *dux* (*Antiq. Diss.* V). The letter-forms, however, and the determinate cutting and spacing are more like the dated VIII century inscriptions nos. 18 (A, L, R) or 53 (M, O, X) than late IX century examples, such as nos. 111 or 112.

No. 51 *late VIII or early IX century*

CREDO QVIA REDEMTORM̄ S VI
VIT ET IN NOVISSIMO DIE SVSCITA *etc.*

Rimini; in the museum. Epitaph of Venerius, priest, who died in the 8th indiction in the time of bishop Sergius. The complete text is correctly given by Muratori except that l. 4 should read '*ce Venerius prb̄. qui vixit.*'

Muratori, *Thes.*, mcmdli.

The text of the second half of the inscription is obscure. There are figures *AD CCC* (or M, *v.* alphabet) XVIII in the middle of the formula of anathema, which runs *Q.H.TM.VIOL.HABEAT ANATHEMA AD CCC XVIII PAT .PVERB.D̄N̄ SERGI V̄B Ē̄PC.ET PORT* (*ionem*) *C* (*um*) *IVDA TRAD* (*itore*) *DN̄I N̄ IH̄V X̄PI.* The year 818 is in the 11th, not the 8th indiction. This formula of anathema is similar to no. 117. The number of ligatures is remarkable. They are usually rare in popular inscriptions.

I cannot trace any bishop Sergius, unless Sergius (archbishop) of Ravenna (748–770) is meant, which would give 755 or 770 as the year (cf. no. 49).

No. 52

+ IN N DNI
DI N IHV XPI
TEMPORIBVS
DOMNO BONO EPISC *etc.*

Adria; in church of S. Maria della Tomba. Record of restoration of the font in the time of bishop Bonus, and Romald and Lupicus priests, by Magister Julianus, and Julianus and Martinus, in the 15th indiction. The inscription runs round the top of an octagonal font. The complete text given in de Vit appears to be the most accurate.

F. G. Bocchi, *Dissertazione su d'un antico vaso battesimale di Adria*, 1798; Muratori, *Thes.*, mdcccxciii, 3, with poor woodcut; Marini-Mai, 177, n. 3; Cappelletti, X, 13; V. de Vit, *Adria e le sue Epigrafi*, 1888, II, 309.

This inscription is famous because it is signed by the mason. Unfortunately I have neither been able to see it nor to find a photograph or reproduction. Muratori's woodcut is most inadequate, but it confirms the impression of the descriptions that this inscription belongs to the 'popular' group, as also does the form and Latin of the text. Bishop Bonus is not otherwise known. Muratori's woodcut reads *et Romaldos Lupics (cus) Prb*, he gives Bocchi's interpretation as *Romualdos Lupici*, de Vit reads *Romaldos et Lupici presbiteri*.

No. 53 (Plate XV, 3a and b) 789–814

A. + IN $\overline{\text{DI}}$ $\overline{\text{NO}}$
$\overline{\text{RENOVA}}$
CRUX TEM
PORIB $\overline{\text{DOM}}$
VITALE $\overline{\text{EPI}}$SC

B. BARBATUS $\overline{\text{PRB}}$
FIERI EROGAVI

Bologna; in S. Giovanni in Monte. Record of renovation of a cross. A. on panel, 20 × 17 cm., at base of a carved cross. B. on the pillar on which the cross stands, inscribed surface *c.* 11 × 48 cm.

G. Gozzadini, *Delle croci monumentali ch'erano nelle vie di Bologna*, 1863, 5; de Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1864, 16; Grossi-Gondi, no. 5; Testi-Rasponi, *Atti Dep. Stor. Pat. Romagna*, 1912, 156.

Vitalis was bishop 789–814, according to Ughelli. He is mentioned at a *placitum* of Charles the Great of 801. The carving on the cross seems to be contemporary with the inscription (*renova* perhaps refers to the decoration of a cross hitherto plain). It is a running foliage pattern, very different in technique from the Pavian patterns, rougher and simpler. Bologna was conquered by the Lombards *c.* 727. The inscriptions are neat and lively. There is no other instance of P with a bowl altogether detached.

No. 54 *VIII or possibly early IX century*

. . . ANTO NI HINDING (?) SOLVET DUX UNA CUM ADRIANO FILIO MEO BI . . .

Civita Castellana; atrium of cathedral, along the top of a sculptured relief. Dedication?

Rivoira, I, 144, fig. 201; A. Munoz, 'Alcune Sculture della Cattedrale di Civitacastellana,' *Boll. d'Arte*, 1911, 12; Haseloff, pl. 56, p. 56; J. Baum, *La Sculpture figurale en Europe à l'époque mérovingienne*, 1937, pl. LXIII.

The reading of this inscription is difficult. Munoz interprets it as *Antoni hindingnus olvei dux etc.* The last six words are, however, fairly certain and contradict the assumption of Rivoira and Haseloff that the *Dux*, who appears to be represented in the carving, was a Lombard. A Lombard duke is unlikely to have had a son Adrianus.[28] Civita Castellana, moreover, though on the border of the Roman duchy, is not known to have been conquered by the Lombards.

The letters are too badly mutilated for it to be certain to what style the inscription belongs. The forms, particularly D, O, R, S, X suggest the 'popular' school. The G form would be almost conclusive, but it is impossible to be quite sure that the letter is G not O. The curious M with slightly curved diagonals is found elsewhere only in nos. 108, 109 and 38, and it is possible that this should be associated with the first two. The sculpture, however, is very different; it is indeed the principal example in our period of a conceptual, realistic approach, without symbolism or decoration. But though so different in terms it could, I feel, come out of the same mental approach as the carving at Ferentillo (31), *v.* also 108.

No. 55 (Plate XVI, 1) *VIII century*

+ DE DONIS D̄I ET
S̄C̄E D̄I GENETRICI MARIE *etc.*

Rome; in S. Nicola in Carcere, on one of the fluted columns of the church. A donation by Anastasius *maiordomus* of animals, vines, a bed of citrous wood for the priest and another, *at mansionariis equi sequentibus*. The complete text is given in Marini-Mai.

Torrigio, 1635, 414; Fontanini, 1727, 25; Muratori, *Thes.* mdcccxxvi, 4; Muratori, *Antiq.*, II, 1011; Marini-Mai, 218, 1; Grossi-Gondi, no. 72; Silvagni, I, pl. XXXVI, 7.

It is cut with great freshness and sensibility. The Latin is obscure and entirely ungrammatical. B is written for V, *hic* is spelt *ic*.

[28] But cf. no. 26; there seems little doubt that this *dux* Gregorius was Lombard.

No. 56 *VIII century*

OMNS QVI. . . .
IN HANC AVLAM *etc.*

Rome; in the cloister of SS. Quattro Coronati. An epitaph ending with an anathema against any violator of the tomb. A fragment, broken top and bottom. The complete text is given in A. Munoz.

A. Munoz, *Restauro della chiesa e del chiostro dei SS. Quattro Coronati*, 1914, 130; Silvagni, I, pl. XXXVII, 6.

The inscription was discovered during the restorations by A. Munoz. The depth of the cutting is very uneven. The long L seems to be a Roman rather than a 'popular' form and occurs in no. 15. The abbreviations used in the formula of anathema at the end are obscure.

No. 57 *VIII century*

+ SVSCIPE TErRA TVO CORPVS DE CORPORE SVMTA
RETDER̄ COT BALEAS BIBIFICANTE D̄S IC GR *etc.*

Rome; Lateran Museum. Epitaph of a certain Gregory. The complete text is shown in the reproductions quoted.

Marucchi, *Mus. Crist. Lat.*, 52, no. 36, pl. III; Diehl, pl. 37 c.; Silvagni, I, pl. XXXVI, 8.

The inscription is recorded in the museum as coming *e territorio Hortano*. The first two lines are a corruption of the epitaph of Gregory the Great. The letters are cut with vigour and are typically 'popular'.

No. 58 *late VIII, possibly IX century*

+ IN NOMINE PAT ET FILII ET SPV . . . I OMNIS SITientes venit
E AD ME EGO STEFHAN

Rome; outside S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, round a decorated well top. Dedication of the well by Stephen.

G. M. Crescimbeni, *'Istoria della chiesa di S. Giovanni a Porta Latina*, 1716, 94; Marini-Mai, 189; de Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1867, 78; Mazzanti, *Arch. Stor. d'Arte.* ser. 2, II, 1890, 167, with reproduction; C. Ricci, *Romanesque Architecture in Italy*, 1925, 152, reproduction only.

The inscription is worn and almost illegible. The roughness of the lettering suggests that it may be late, possibly after 800. De Rossi considered it X century, but I do not know any similar inscription, or carving, dated to the X century.

VI. NORTH ITALIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IX CENTURY

The nature of the influence of the Carolingian conquest of 774 on Italian epigraphy is attested by the epitaph of Hadrian I. As in paleography, so in epigraphy, the Carolingians introduced a style of lettering reflecting the idea of their empire. If the Carolingian minuscule is classical in its clarity, normality and confidence, the Carolingian inscribed letter is a direct emulation of classical forms. At Tours are inscriptions with lead fillings in the letters,[29] but there is no evidence that this practice was introduced into Italy, unless a small fragment at Farfa be of Carolingian date. In North Italy the first Carolingian inscription is the epitaph of Charles' son Pipin (d. 811) king of Italy, no. 59; the epitaph of his son, king Bernard (d. 817 or 818, no. 60), is so similar, both in form and arrangement, that they may be assumed to come from the same workshop, which, if still Frankish in inspiration and possibly personnel, is now located in Italy.[30] The lettering of these inscriptions is delicate and very civilised, though slight and with a touch of uncertainty. There is a return to normal classical forms, some of which had almost fallen out of usage: G with a straight lower terminal, ending in a serif, M with vertical stems and the middle apex touching the line, N with the diagonal ending in a serif-finished stem at the top and a point at the bottom, Q with a diagonal curved tail wholly outside the bowl, R with curved leg. Besides these, two practices which now, and perhaps then, seem classical mannerisms are revived: P is formed with the bowl open, and this is applied also to B and R; and the serifs ending the arms of the T are set diagonally. The letters are carefully aligned and there are no abbreviations. That this tradition was preserved into the next century is proved by nos. 155 (900) and 157 (921–931).

In a less pure form, but preserving the same characteristics of slightness and a certain hesitancy, the classical style was practised in Northern Italy from the mid-IX to the mid-X centuries. Examples are nos. 66, 71, 72, 73,[31] also probably 79. The standard of execution is variable, the natural classical confidence is sometimes very wavering; but the fine forms are there, and often the mannerisms. Certain extraneous forms, however, creep in: the square C, G with a curled terminal, M with an apex short of the line, Q with a tail inside, R with a straight leg, and ligatures.

Towards the end of the century there appears a more robust hand working within the same classical style, in the epitaphs of Louis II (d. 875), no. 67, and Archbishop Anspert d. 882), no. 68. The two inscriptions may be assigned to the same workshop, and no. 74 may be associated with them. Anspert was a Lombard. These inscriptions, therefore, which are superbly classical in the sense lacking in the inscriptions of Pipin and Bernard, and still more to those which succeed them, are a definitely Italian adaptation of Carolingian culture. Here is a sense of publicity as well as dignity; the letters are almost ostentatiously confident. There are also glaring departures from classical usage.[32] In the epitaph of Louis II it is only the O inserted in the ligatured MO, but that is immediately noticeable. In the epitaph of Anspert the ligatures are shamelessly profuse, particularly again in the

[29] P. Deschamps, 'Paléographie des inscriptions de la fin de l'epoque mérovingienne au XII siècle,' *Bull. Mon.*, 1929, Pl. 2, fig. 2.

[30] The lettering on the Wolvinus altar in S. Ambrogio is in the same style, *v.* alphabet p. 87, though certain letter-forms A, L, M, R have serif terminations more resembling MS letters. The small section by a different hand noted by G. B. Tatum, *The Paliotto of Sant' Ambrogio*, Art Bulletin, 1944, p. 27, fig. 5, is not, I think, necessarily later, considering the variety of IX century paleography.

[31] Also *v.* Silvagni, II, fasc. I, pl. v 2.

[32] In these the relation to contemporary Frankish inscriptions is shown in contrast to the strict classicism of the late IX century Roman inscriptions.

form of small inserted letters, and an uncial D is introduced. It is to this taste that the vigorous semi-classical style patronised by the North Italian magnates of the X century is related.

Being classical, there is little comment to be made on the letter-forms of any of these inscriptions. Abbreviations are fairly common, but they are rather more consistent than hitherto, besides the usual words *dominus*, *episcopus*, *noster*, etc.; after the mid-century the omission of final and medial M, the abbreviation *p* for *per* and *pro*—not only when these are separate words but when they are syllables—and the clipping of the enclitic *que* become common for the first time. The terminations and last syllables of words are sometimes also clipped. Frequent ligatures and frequent abbreviations go together. The practice of heading epitaphs with letters D.M. (no. 68), B.M. (no. 69), S.M. (no. 155) is at this period confined to this school.

The majority of these inscriptions are epitaphs, and the persons involved are people of property and repute. The style of dating is new in that the year is usually given as well as the indiction, and the date of the month invariably according to the Roman reckoning.

The Carolingian influence seems indeed to have revolutionised taste in the territory conquered—although it should be remembered that a few of the inscriptions included in the Lombard school were executed after the fall of that kingdom (nos. 37, 38, 47). There is, moreover, a small group of inscriptions, nos. 61–65, mostly associated with Audibert (presumably a Lombard name), abbot of S. Maria in Organo at Verona, and therefore dated to the first part of the IX century, which still show a trace of Lombard influence. The letter-forms indeed are classical, but the proportions of the letters are slight in width and in the width of the line. The stems of the M project, the O is pointed, and the G exaggerated. An inscription at Bobbio is very similar ; the practice of inserting letters in the H is peculiar to this group.

No. Height of letters.

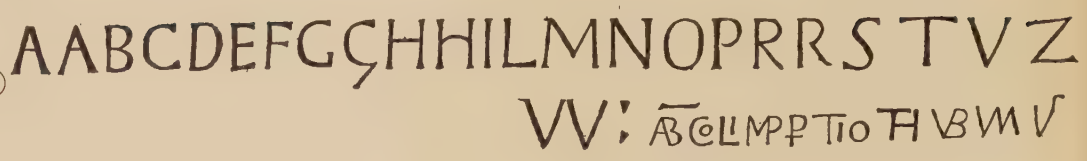
59 2·7–3·5 cm.

60 2·5–3 cm.

Wolvinus (*niello*) altar (see p. 86, note 30)

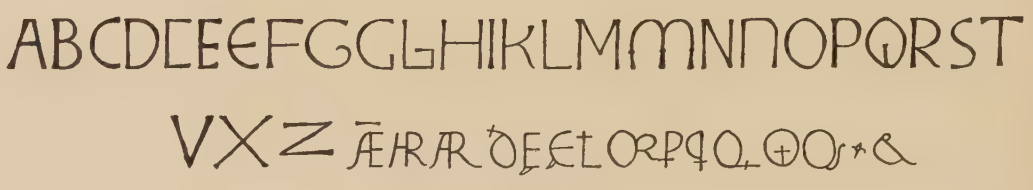
No. Height of letters.

Wolvinus (*repoussé*) altar



66 B 3·5 cm.

A 3–3·5 cm.

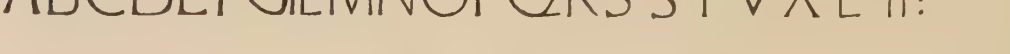


70 *

71

72 Round edge, 3–3·5 cm. Round basins, 2–2·5 cm.

73 2·5–3·5 cm.

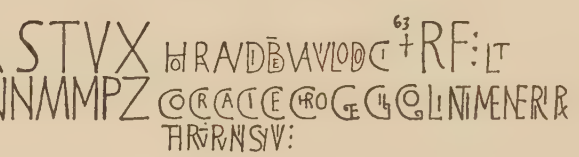


79 *c.* 2 cm.

61 *

No. Height of letters.

62 3·5–5 cm.
63 3·5–5 cm.
64 3·5–5 cm.
65 7 cm.



69 4–4·5 cm.

67 3·8 cm. First two lines 5–7 cm. Letters at top 15 cm.

68 3·5–3·8 cm.

74 *c.* 3 cm.

No. 59 811

+ HIC PIPINUS REX QUIESCIT IN PACE QUI IN HAC REGNAVIT PROVINCIA AN
XXVIIII·M·IIII·DEPOSITUS·V·ID·IVL·INDICTIONE·IIII·FIL·D·M· CAROLI

Milan; in S. Ambrogio. Epitaph of Pipin, king of Italy.

M. Caffi, 'Corrispondenza. Bollettino della consulta archeologica', *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1875, 123; Forcella, III, 200; Grossi-Gondi, no. 8; Silvagni, III, pl. V, 4.

The inscription was discovered in 1875 '*nel fare alcune escavazioni sotto il coro della chiesa*' (S. Ambrogio). Pipin is recorded to have died in Milan. Muratori (*Ann.*, IV, 474) and Sigonius (*de Regno Italiae*, 1591, 103) both state that he was buried at S. Zeno in Verona, which he restored. They give no reference. The dates given in the inscription do not exactly correspond to the dating in the *Annales Einhardi* (810) and *Laurissenses* and the authenticity of the inscription has therefore been doubted. Epigraphically, however, it is entirely convincing (cf. no. 76). The 4th indiction falls in 811. A similar difficulty over dates occurs in no. 60. The inscriptions are so similar that they may be by the same hand.

No. 60 (Plate XXIV, 2) 817

+ BERNARDVS CIVILITATE MIRABILIS CETERISQ·PIIS
VIRTVTIBVS INCLYTVS REX
HIC REQVIESCIT REG·AN·IIII·M·V·OBIIT·XV·KAL·MAI·IND.X
FILIVS PIAE·M·PIPINI

Milan; S. Ambrogio, in a room next the chapel of S. Satiro. Epitaph of King Bernard, son of Pipin. Along the side of the lid of a sarcophagus.

T. Calchi, *Mediolanensis Historiae Patriae*, 1627, 104; J. P. Puricelli, *Ambrosianae Mediolani Basilicae Monumenta*, 1645, 64; Baronius, ad an. 817; Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, II, pt. I, 220 (V); Forcella, III, 201; Grossi-Gondi, no. 16; Silvagni, III, pl. V, 4.

The epitaph was discovered in 1498. The date of Bernard's death is given by Regino of Prüm and the *Annales Einhardi* as 818. The indiction 10, however, corresponds to 817.

The authenticity has been doubted by Romano (*Le Dominazioni Barbariche in Italia*, p. 454) and Simson (*Jahrbücher des Frankische Reichs*), but the epigraphy is convincing. This is probably by the same hand as no. 59. Other examples of the indiction not corresponding with other evidence of date are nos. 111, 147.

No. 61 *c.* 840

RELIQ DE LIGNO CRUC . . .
$\overline{\text{DNI}}$ ET DE EI SEPULCH . . . *etc.*

Verona; in S. Elena. Record of relics collected by the patriarch Andreas for his altar. The complete text is given by L. Billo.

R. Bagatta and B. Perettus, *SS. Episcoporum Veronensium antiqua monumenta*, 1586, 80; L. Billo, 61.

L. Billo considers that the inscription is in its original place. The dates of Andreas patriarch of Aquileia are not certain. There are documents with his name for 843 and 846. His predecessor Maxentius was alive in 827 and probably 832. The dates of his successor Venerius are unknown, but he was already succeeded by Teodemarus by 850.

Epigraphically it is similar to nos. 62–65 and 69. Cf. also no. 102.

No. 62 837–8

HOC/ORA/TO/RIO/ (inscribed within upper arm of a cross)
+ AUDIBERT $\overline{\text{AB}}$ RENOVAVIT (within horizontal arms)
SCI/DO/NA/TI (within lower arm)
ANNO/DOMNO/HLODOVUIC/IMP XXV (in the spaces between the arms)

Verona; Museo Civico al Castelvecchio. Record of restoration of oratory of S. Donato by abbot Audibert in the twenty-fifth year of Louis. On circular stone 45 cm. in diameter.

A. da Lisca, 'La iscrizione medievale di S. Donato in Monini,' *Madonna Verona*, an. XIX, 1920, 248; L. Billo, 1934, 33 (half-tone of a squeeze).

This inscription and the three following (nos. 63–65) are all associated with Abbot Audibert of S. Maria in Organo, whose rule is recorded *c.* 831–*c.* 845. The twenty-fifth year of the reign of Louis the Pious would be 837–838. These inscriptions (and nos. 61 and 69) recall the Lombard style in the delicate, shallow cutting and the proportions of the letters, also in some forms of M, N, U, G. In general, however, the letters are classical and the frequent inserted letters typically Carolingian.

No. 63 *c.* 840

+ SCE/SUF/FIE/ALTA/ upper arm of cross (as no. 62).
⁝AUDIBERT⁝ AB⁝ EDIFICAVIT⁝ horizontal arms of cross.
RIO/ET/CU/BA lower arm of cross.

Sezan di Valpantena; built into wall of a little chapel. Record of the building of the 'cuba' and altar of S. Sofia by Abbot Audibert. Inscribed on a circular piece of marble, 44 cm. in diameter, in an incised cross.

L. Simeoni, 'Iscrizioni medievali di monumenti veronesi,' *Atti Accad. d'Agr. Science, Lettere, Arti e Comm. di Verona*, ser. 4, X, 1910, 69; L. Simeoni, *Guida di Verona*, 1909, 430; A. da Lisca, *Madonna Verona*, 1920, 248; L. Billo, 36.

v. no. 62. The meaning of *cuba* is obscure. Du Cange gives crypt, L. Billo suggests ciborium.

No. 64 *c.* 840–846

+ RELIQ SCORU
IN ALTARE CRUCIS *etc.*

Gazzo Veronese. Record of relics. The complete text is given by L. Billo.

L. Billo, 44.

v. no. 62 and no. 63, which records that the altar of the cross was erected by Autbert. The paleographical similarity of this inscription suggests that it was he who also recorded the relics collected there. The cutting of this inscription is inferior to that of the other three (nos. 62, 63, and 65); it is thicker and less careful.

No. 65 846

SUMU OPUS EXCELSE CRUCIS VENERABILIS ABBAS
AUTBERTUS DNI FECIT AMORE SUI *etc.*

Gazzo Veronese; in S. Maria. Record of work, including an altar, erected by Autbert in the sixth year of the reign of Lothar. Complete text in L. Billo, with restorations.

L. Billo, 'Le Iscrizioni Veronesi,' *Arch. Ven.*, 1934, 41.

v. no. 62. The similarity of the paleography and the nearness in date suggest that this Autbert is the same person as abbot Audibert. Lothar I reigned from 820 to 840 as king, 840–855 as emperor.

No. 66 (Plate XVII, 1 and 2) *B.*, 846, *A. after* 1000

A. ARCHIDIAC QUIESCIT HIC VERO PACIFICUS SAPIENTIA
PRAECLARU ET FORMA PRAEFULGIDA

NULLUS TALIS EST INVENTUS NRĪS IN TEPIB QD NEC ULLŪ
ADVENIRE UMQŪA TALE CREDIMUS *etc.*

B. + HIC ROGO PAUXILIUM VENIENS SUBSISTE VIATOR
ET MEA SCRUTARE PECTORE DICTA TUO *etc.*

Verona; in the cathedral. A is the epitaph of Pacificus the founder or renovator of many churches; a superlative craftsman in gold, silver and other metals, in wood and in marble; the scribe of 218 MSS.; the inventor of the *horologium nocturnum;* the author of a gloss on the Old and New Testaments and a poem, for his clock, on the spheres of heaven, and other works. He lived sixty-eight years; he was archdeacon for forty-three years and he died on the night before Sunday, November 23rd, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Lothar. On the two other pieces of marble is inscribed (B.) the epitaph of Pacificus, who died in 846, indiction 10. The text is very largely taken from the epitaph of Alcuin and gives no information about the deceased except to call him *famosus in orbe viator*. Both are in verse. The lower part of the inscription is divided vertically in two.

The complete text is given in *Poet. Lat.* This is correct except for expanded abbreviations which are frequent, particularly in A, and in B, l. 6, where it gives *cibus* instead of *cilbus* and in l. 20 *magnus* instead of *mangnus*.

Panvinio, *De Urbis Veronae*, 1621, 24; F. S. Maffei, *Complessioni di Cassiodoro*, 1721, preface; G. B. G. Biancolini, *Dissertazione dei Vescovi e Governatori di Verona*, 1757, 183; F. Bluhme, *Iter Italicum*, 1824, I, 254; Giuliari, *Arch. Ven.*, X, 1875, 256, and XVI, 1878, 220; A. Spagnolo, *Arch. Ven.*, 1904, 1, with half tone; *M.G.H. Poet Lat.*, II, 655; Cipolla, 230; T. Venturini, *Ricerche Paleografiche intorno all 'arcidiacono Pacifico di Verona*, 1929; L. Billo, 49; Grossi-Gondi, no. 26.

Giuliari asserts that '*i piu vetusti rotoli dell archivio*' attest that Pacificus was buried in the cathedral. According to a description quoted by Spagnolo, in 1625, the tomb, which was destroyed when the new sacristy was made in that year, incorporated a relief of Our Lady and saints and the young Pacificus and the inscription A. He records that the latter was eventually moved to its present position. To it, about 1698, were added the other two pieces of marble comprising B. The fact that the three pieces of marble were not always together is confirmed by the first publications by Panvinio 1621 and Moscardo 1668, who both publish the first part only. Both parts were first published in 1721 by Maffei.

It is clear from the squeezes and alphabets reproduced that the two parts of the inscriptions were executed by different hands, in different styles. This was noticed by Bluhme in 1824 who consequently doubted the genuineness, apparently of both inscriptions. They are defended by Cipolla, who discusses various letter-forms in A: the uncial M and N, the bold R, Q with the tail inside, etc., which he holds all to be in the Carolingian taste and conformable to a IX century date. I would not dispute any of the points which Cipolla makes, I can even confirm the use of uncial N in the IX century (see no. 120), which he leaves an open question. But he gives no explanation of the difference between the two inscriptions, and there are a number of letter-forms which he

does not mention, of which I know no other examples before 1000. G without a top, decorated uncial M, the ampersand and the particular forms of the majority of the ligatures. The punctuation, though Cipolla parallels it with MSS., is more elaborate than occurs in inscriptions and so also are the abbreviations. The general effect, the definition of the shading, and the roundness of the curves is also unlike any dated IX century example.

The second inscription (B) on the other hand, though it is a mediocre piece of cutting, is typical of the rather timid school of revived classicism of the IX century very like nos. 70, 72, 73,[33] and it is, I think, undoubtedly the original epitaph of Pacificus. As an explanation of the other inscription (A) I would suggest that the Veronesi of the XI century, proud of their Pacificus, considered the epitaph borrowed from Alcuin to be insufficient and therefore erected him a new tomb, adding the relief described and writing him a new epitaph. The elaborate system of dating in A does not correspond with B, which is unambiguously dated 846. B contains the earliest dated example of square C.

No. 67 (Plate XVII, 4) 875

+ D ☧ M+
HIC CVBAT AETERNI HLVDVVI
CVS CAESAR HONORIS *etc.*

Milan; in S. Ambrogio. Epitaph in verse of the Emperor Louis. The complete text is given in Forcella.

B. Corio, *L'Historia di Milano*, 1554, 23; G. B. Puricelli, *Ambrosianae Mediolani Basilicae Monumenta*, 1645, 220; Muratori, *Ann.*, an. 875; Baronius, an. 875; Forcella, III, 204; Grossi-Gondi, no. 37, pl. XXXV; P. Puccinelli, *Memorie antiche di Milano*, 1650, 55; Toesca, I, 458, fig. 275; Silvagni, II, fasc. II, pl. VI, 1.

Andreas Bergomatus (*Script rer. Lang. M.G.H.*) describes the funeral of Louis II: how he died in Brescia and was buried there by the bishop and how Anspert, archbishop of Milan, immediately sent emissaries, who removed the body and brought it to S. Ambrogio. It can therefore be assumed, particularly in view of the similarity of no. 68, that this inscription was executed to the order of Archbishop Anspert. Louis II was created emperor with his father Lothar in 850, and on the death of the latter in 855 received Italy as his portion of the divided middle kingdom, where he had been king since 844. The date of his death is recorded as 875.

The epigraphy is magnificent. The cutting is very even-line, not unlike no. 142; the final M and enclitic *que* are abbreviated. This form of Æ ligature is not found elsewhere.

No. 68 882

α̅ω̅ B ☧ M +
HIC IACET ANSPERTUS NRAE
CLARISSIMUS URBIS *etc.*

Milan; in S. Ambrogio. The epitaph in verse of Anspert, who died VII id. Sept. 882,

[33] Another dated example is reproduced in Silvagni, II, fasc. II, pl. v. 2 (893).

indiction 15. He was bishop thirteen years five months and twelve days. Andreas *levita* erected the monument to him. Complete text in Forcella.

G. P. Puricelli, *Ambrosianae Mediolani Basilicae ac Monasterii Monumenta*, 1645, 244; Cattaneo, 206 (with lithograph); Cappelletti, XI, 141; Forcella, III, 205; Grossi-Gondi, no. 40; Silvagni, II, fasc. I, pl. V, 7.

From his name and those of his parents Albucius de Blassono and Garidruda it appears that Anspert was a Lombard. He was an important political figure who had dealings with the Emperor and Pope John VIII. No. 67 was probably commissioned by him, and the similarity of these two fine inscriptions suggest that he was responsible for a renewed classical revival in the second half of the IX century, possibly connected with the contemporary monuments in Rome (nos. 84, 86, 142). It seems possible that the Andreas, who composed this epitaph, is the Andreas *presbyterus Bergomatus* who recorded the funeral of Louis II (cf. no. 67). There are many ligatures, inserted letters, and abbreviations, including final m, *q* for *que* and *p* for *per* and *pro*, and inserted letters.

No. 69 (Plate XVII, 3) *first half of IX century*

ERIGITUR I . . .
QUI TU . . .
QUE NO . . .
QUAS HIC . . .
OMNIP . . .
SUNT . . .
TEMP . . .
ABBATI S . . .

Bobbio; S. Columbanus, cut along an octagonal column, each side measuring 5 cm.; the column is broken off, the surviving fragment being 26 cm. long. Unpublished(?).

There is no abbot beginning with S before 1155 in the series given by Cipolla, but this is very incomplete for the IX century (*Codice Diplomatico di S. Colombano di Bobbio*). The lettering is fine and thin, similar to that of the inscriptions of Audibert (nos. 62–65), though the forms are more classical.

No. 70 *IX century*

. . CDA . . .
. . TI . .
. . D̄I MISCDEA . .
. . IVIT FIERI SEP . . .
. . POT . . .
. . R . . T ET.CA . .
E . . AE . . . . . D . .
. . QVITATUM . . .

Turin, Museo di Antichità.

P. Toesca, 'Vicende di un 'antica chiesa di Torino,' *Boll. d'Arte*, 1910, 11 and 15, with reproduction.

The inscription was discovered during excavations in 1910. It is much defaced, but the square C and the general classical character of the epigraphy is unmistakable, and should be compared with nos. 66, 73, 72. The inscription belongs to the North Italian Carolingian school of about 850. It is remarkable as being the only example of this school with any carving; it has a border of simple interlacing. But cf. also no. 79.

No. 71 *late IX century*

+ IN NOE SCE ET INDIVIDUE TRINITATIS EGO GUILITONUS DE LOCO

SUMA IVDICO UT ECCLA QUA EGO NOVITER EDIFICAVI SUPER *etc.*

Milan; in S. Simpliciano. Record of the building and endowment of the church of S. Fides at Summa by Guilitionus of Summa, and of its placing under the monastery of S. Simpliciano at Milan; ending with a formula of anathema against any violator of the donation. The complete text is given by Forcella.

P. Puccinelli, *Vita di S. Simpliciano*, 123, in *Zodiaco della chiesa Milanese*, pt. III, 1650; Forcella, IV, 102, with other references I, 322; G. Guilini, *Memorie di Milano*, 1854, I, 322; L. Melzi, *Somma Lombarda*, 1880, 89 and 30; Silvagni, II, fasc. I, pl. XI, 6; Grossi-Gondi, no. 54.

Puccinelli records that in 1650 the inscription was in the wall of the chapel of S. Fede in S. Simpliciano. The chapel was rebuilt in 1840 and the inscription considered lost until it was discovered behind a confessional by L. Melzi. Somma is a town south-west of Varese. Melzi writes of Guilitionus as living in the IX century, but produces no evidence for this. The name occurs in various local documents of different periods.

There are many abbreviations, including *p* for *pro*, *per* and *prae* and final *m*. The abbreviations and their frequency and the many ligatures recall no. 141 in Rome, though the epigraphy is very inferior and similar to the inscription of Walpert (no. 72). I should date the inscription late IX or early X century.

No. 72 *late IX or X century*

+ HOC FABRICAVIT OP WALPT AMORE PARENTUM

ORENT UT REDDAT P̄ MIA DIGNA DEUS *etc.*

Milan; in Museo Archeologico, no. 2805. Round the top and along the top of the front of a square Roman urn from S. Bartolomeo al Bosco near Appiano. Record of the removal from Milan of the urn by Walpert *subdiaconus* and its erection *pro amore parentum*. The complete text is given by Forcella.

G. Guilini, *Memorie di Milano*, 1854, I, 604; Forcella, IX, 233; A. Garovaglio, 'L'urna del suddiacono Valperto, il culto di Mitra, il Battesimo ed i Battisteri', *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1889; Monneret de Villard, no. 135; Silvagni, II, fasc. II, pl. V, 5.

Guilini and Garovaglio consider that the urn was intended for a tomb, Forcella that it was meant for holding water for family use. The shape (square with a small round

basin in each corner partitioned from the rest of the interior) seems inconvenient for a tomb, and any lid would completely obscure most of the inscription. The words inscribed on the small basins, *bona nocte, vade dormitium, rebuc, carpentum,* though the last two are obscure in reference, suggest a domestic rather than a sepulchral use.

This subdeacon has been identified with the Walpert who became archbishop of Milan in 970. This style of epigraphy seems to have been current at least between 846 (no. 66) and 920 (no. 157). The difference between these two inscriptions seems to indicate that the increase of ligatures and abbreviations is the chief criterion of date. By this evidence this inscription is nearer to 921 than to 846. Silvagni dates it to the XI century. It is rubbed and not very well cut.

No. 73 *IX century*

. . . MULARI MEMBRA SEPUL . . .
. . . STIVS URBIS HONOS *etc.*

Milan; in Museo Archeologico. Fragment of an epitaph. The complete surviving text is given by Forcella.

Forcella, I, 65; Grossi-Gondi, no. 39; Silvagni, II, fasc. I, pl. XI, 4.

Forcella lists the inscription under the church of S. Tecla, and the name of this saint occurs in the text.

The inscription was originally dated, but the only words which survive are *(me)nsis decembris indic VII.* Forcella interprets this as 874, but this seems arbitrary. The epigraphy is similar to nos. 59 and 60 or again 155, rounder and more purely classical than 66, 71, 72.

No. 74 *late IX century*

+ hic cubat dominus
giselbertuS MAgnificus
aBAs qui hoc COENobium
PLURIMi boNIS con
STRUXit DECORAvit

Milan; S. Vincenzo in Prato, walled into the outside of the church. Epitaph of the abbot Giselbert.

G. A. Castiglione, *Mediolanenses Antiquitates,* 1625, 93; G. Guilini, *Memorie di Milano,* 1854, I, 141, with line engraving; Appunti e Notizie, *Arch. Stor. Lom.,* 1887, 883; Forcella, II, 188; Grossi-Gondi, no. 55.

The epitaph was first published by G. A. Castiglione in 1625. In 1887 this fragment was rediscovered *negli scavi del suolo a mezzodi di S. Vincenzo.* S. Vincenzo was a monastery of ancient though uncertain foundation. The wide, rather heavy classical lettering with ligatures suggests the school of Anspert. The sarcophagus is a Frankish type.

VII. ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IX CENTURY, 780–900

In 795 Pope Hadrian I died and his epitaph, no. 76, instead of being executed by a Roman mason, was commissioned by Charles the Great and made in France, probably at Tours. The lettering is beautifully formed, regular and skilful; only occasional ligatures and inserted letters differentiate it from a fine classical inscription. The effect of the Carolingian influence, which this stone symbolises, on Roman epigraphy is startling and dramatic. The old style disappears completely. The century starts off with a group of inscriptions obviously reflecting the influence of the Carolingian classical revival; but though the letters are regular, shapely, and cut with precision, they have their own distinct style, in particular in the slightly compressed letter-forms and the rather square-shaped bowls. The inscription of Leo IV (847–855), no. 81, may be grouped with the inscription, no. 77, pl. XXIV, 3 of Paschal I (817–824) and nos. 75, 78, and 88.[34] To the same school clearly also belongs the lettering of the IX century Roman mosaics in S. Cecilia, S. Maria in Domnica, and S. Prassede, which were commissioned by Paschal I, and that of S. Marco commissioned by Gregory IV (827–844). This mosaic lettering is all similar, pleasant, and dignified, but neither splendid nor very competent (alphabet 77 A). There is not the differentiation between thick and thin strokes which is characteristic of the inscriptions, but the characteristic letter-forms, A, G, M, Q, R, S (a rather narrow, evenly balanced letter with the terminations short and flat) are similar. The same ornamental heart-shaped leaves are used in both, and the same monogram of Paschal I.

The finest of the mosaic inscriptions is that of S. Prassede, where the marble inscription over the door to the chapel of S. Zeno is also the work of Pope Paschal I. Both are signed, and both the mosaic and the chapel are mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*. I have included an alphabet of the mosaic letter-forms. It does not include minor diversities between the four examples. No example of this style of epigraphy is dated after 855 and no Roman mosaic of the IX century survives later than the same date.

There follows between 850 and about 880 a period of experiment and reaction against classical taste. A fragment of 853 (no. 80) is so curious in its characters that it might be thought a forgery. It was, however, accepted by de Rossi, and the two succeeding inscriptions are equally unaccountable though not quite so queer. A possible explanation of the epitaph of Nicholas I (no. 82) seems to be that here is an attempted revival of the IV century style of Damasus.[34a] That of Hadrian II (no. 83) is almost a return to the VIII century in its irregularity and vacillating and shapeless lettering. It would certainly seem that in the second half of the IX century there was no reliable tradition to preserve the uninspired mason from relapse.

The idea that masons were consciously seeking some source of inspiration is revived by the last phase in the Roman epigraphy of the century, the magnificent classical revival of the reign of Pope Formosus. The epitaph of Demetrius, no. 86, at the Villa Albani is in many ways the most beautiful inscription of our period (Plate XIX, 3). It is cut with classic regularity in fine broad strokes and beautifully moulded curves and the letters are delicate as well as dignified. As a final sophistication the date is inscribed in a different style, a sort of compressed rustic. This again points to an experimental revivalist

[34] Perhaps also Silvagni, I, pl. XXXVI, 3, and II, fasc. II, pl. V, 1, commemorating the bringing of relics from Rome to Legguino; was the inscription also brought from Rome? It is dated 846.

[34a] *cf.* Silvagni, I; Diehl, pl. 36 b.

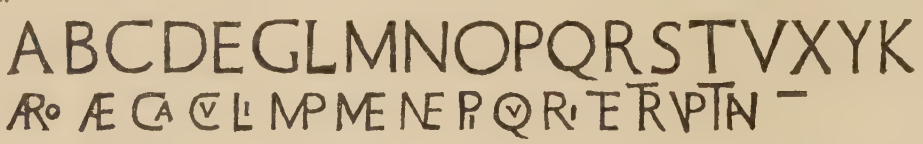
atmosphere. I know no other use of two styles except the epitaph of Ansprand (no. 24). A stage in the accomplishment of mastery in classical forms is shown in the inscription from Joannipolis (no. 84 Plate XIX, 1), where the letters are still thin and slightly insecure. The inscription of Pope Leo at S. Paolo (no. 142 Plate XIX, 2) is also, as de Rossi pointed out, very close, not only in its classic letter-forms and proportions, but in the practice of enlarged initial letters. The appearance of this style at the end of the century suggests a connection with the workshop of Anspert at Milan, a decade earlier (Plate XVII, 4); but the Roman style is purer.

Finally, there is an inscription connected with Formosus during his episcopate at Porto, before his election to the papacy in 891. It is mean and miserable; it would offer a disconcerting contrast to the other inscriptions dated by Formosus were its incompetence not so complete that it may be reasonably supposed to have been scratched on the stone by an amateur.

The Latin of the IX century is an improvement on that of the VIII. Most of these inscriptions are in verse, or in quite dignified prose, and no mis-spelling occurs except in no. 79, *rogabi*. Abbreviations are rare except in no. 88. Dating is also rare.

No. Height of letters.

76 †

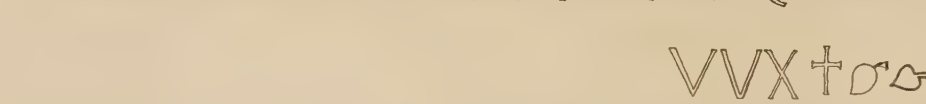


75 4·5–5 cm.

77 4 cm.

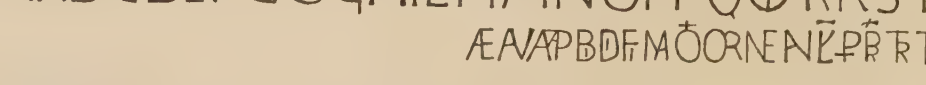
77A mosaic

78 *



81 *

88 4 cm.



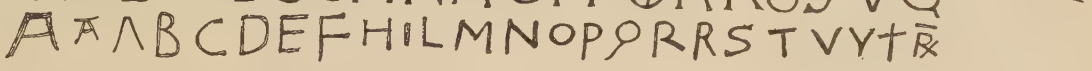
80 3–3·5 cm.

No. Height of letters.

82 5 cm.

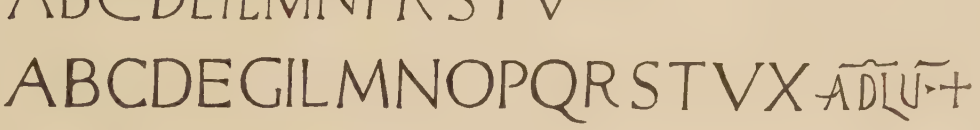
83 6 cm.

85 †



84 ‡ 7·5 cm.

86 4·5 cm., last line 3 cm., rustics 5 cm.



87 4–4·3 cm., and initials 6–6·5 cm.

No. 75 *c.* 780

. . . RISTINO . . .
. . . PORRO HAN . . .
. . . VSI . . .

Farfa; in the cloister of the abbey. Fragment.

Schuster, 'Spigolature Farfensi', *Riv. Stor. Bened.*, 1907, 409 and 583, no. XI.

This fragment has been identified by Cardinal Schuster as part of an inscription, dated 780, copied by Gregorius de Catino and by him inserted into the Register of Farfa. The affinity with nos. 77 and 78 is striking, though 780 seems a disconcertingly early date.

No. 76 795

HIC PATER ECCLESIAE ROMAE DECUS INCLYTUS AUCTOR
HADRIANUS REQUIEM PAPA BEATUS HABET *etc.*

Rome; St. Peter's, walled into the portico, very high.

The epitaph of Pope Hadrian, *Carolus lacrymans haec carmina scripsi*, commemorating the virtues of Hadrian and his own sorrow and respect, in forty lines of verse. The complete text is given in de Rossi.

M.G.H. Poet. Lat., I, 101; Opera Alcuine, ed. Frobenius, 1777, II, pt. II, 550; IX century MS. published by de Rossi, II, 258, no. 7; de Rossi gives several other MS. records, including P. Mallius (XII century), II, 203; M. Vegius (XV century), II, 350; P. Sabinus (XV century), II, 411; Baronius, an. 795; Sarti et Settele 133; G. B. de Rossi, 'L'Inscription du tombeau d'Hadrien I', *Mélanges d'archeologie et d'histoire*, 1887, with full discussion of bibliography; Schneider no. 30; Silvagni, I, pl. II, 6.

The commissioning of the inscription is mentioned in the contemporary texts,

Chronicon Moissiacense; and the *Annales Laureshamenses: ebitaffium aureis litteris in marmore conscriptum iussit in Francia fieri, ut eum partibus Romae transmitteret ad sepultura summi pontificis Adriani ornandam.*[35] Petrus Mallius (XII century) records that the tomb of Hadrian was near the oratory of Leo IV in St. Peter's. In 1575 Gregory XIII moved it to the porch of the church, where it was re-erected by Paul V after he had built his new portico. De Rossi suggests that the black marble on which it is cut comes from near Tours, the centre of a Carolingian epigraphic school.

Hadrian is known to have died in 795. The border is not, as with the Pavian inscriptions, carved in relief, but incised. The only abbreviations are in the date. The many inserted letters are typically Carolingian.

No. 77 (Plate XXIV, 3) 817–824

+ PASCHALIS PRAESULIS OPUS DECOR FULGIT IN AULA
QUOD PIA OPTULIT VOTA STUDUIT REDDERE DŌ PASCHALIS

Rome; in S. Prassede, above the door to the chapel of S. Zeno.

Galletti, XX, 27; Marini-Mai, 149; Duchesne, II, 65, n. 14; Silvagni, I; pl. XV, 2, Grossi-Gondi, no. 11, pl. XXXIII.

The restoration of the church of S. Prassede and the construction of the chapel of S. Zeno and its decoration with mosaics is recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis* in the life of Paschal I, 817–824. *Paschalis* in l.2 is a monogram similar to that in mosaic in S. Cecilia. The inscription is beautifully done.

No. 78 827–844

NOTO ROGATARIOQ: MEO SCRIBENDAM DICTAVI CUIQ: SUBTER MA
NU PROPRIA LITTERIS GRECIS SUBSCRIPSI ET TESTIB: A ME ROGITIS OP *etc.*

Rome; S. Maria Maggiore. Copy '*pro cautela et firmitate temporum futurorum*' made for Rado, *nōt . rēg . scae . Rom . eccle .* in the reign of Gregory IV, of a donation of land to S. Maria Maggiore by Flavia Xantippe, daughter of Megisto, imperial secretary. The complete text is correctly given by Mai except: l. 12 *Porcinari* should be *Porcinare*; l. 24 *consensi*, the letters *sen* have been inserted above the line; l. 24 *subscribent* should be *subscriberent*; l. 34 *essentibus introeuntibus* should be *essentibus et . . .*; l. 41 *scriptones* should be *scriptiones*.

F. Bianchini, *Praefatio in Anastasii Bibliothecarii Vitas Pontificum Romanorum*, in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, III, pt. I, 85; Marini, 141; Marini-Mai, 222; Tomassetti, 'Della Campagna Romana,' *Arch. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Pat.*, II, 1897, 405; Silvagni, I, XXIX, 2; Grossi-Gondi, no. 19, pl. XXXIV.

The inscription was seen by Mabillon in S. Maria Maggiore, *Iter Italicum*, II, xxix, 1687; Marini dates the original document, without comment, as VI century. Silvagni dismisses the inscription as a forgery of the XVII or XVIII century on paleographical

[35] *M.G.H. Scriptores*, I, p. 302, and p. 36, ad an. 795.

grounds. Comparison of the alphabet with those of nos. 77, 75 and with the mosaics is, however, I think convincing. The spacing, shading, and sharp cutting are also similar.

No. 79 827–844

. . . ABB FIERI ROGABI TEMP : DOMN : GREG QUARTI

Castel S. Elia, near Nepi; on a carved panel now built into the door of the basilica.

F. Mazzanti, *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1896, 36; Grossi-Gondi, no. 20

The stone was probably built into the door at the time of the rebuilding of the church in the XII century. It is now very rubbed and the lower half only of the letters is distinguishable.

The inscription is very important, because it is associated with the numerous carved slabs now formed into the pulpit of the church which are similar to those found in large numbers all over Italy, but nowhere else definitely dated. Its mutilation is, therefore, particularly unfortunate. It is similar to the early IX century papal style, except for the square G, which is inconceivable in, for example, no. 77, and which suggests North or South Italian influence. The regularity of the alignment precludes classing it with 'popular' style II inscriptions, and I think that most probably this was an example of the North Italian semi-classical style (nos. 66, 70, 71, 72, 73). Nepi was a border city, probably conquered by the Lombards in 755. In the IX century it was part of the papal territory. I have, therefore, placed it in this group rather than the preceding one but have placed the alphabet, for comparison, with those of North Italy, p. 88.

No. 80 853

+ Gregorii lapis iste sepultat nobilis artus · aVRA QUIVEscens con
didit ante necem · Hunc sibimet sine motu quo reqVIESCAT IN aevum
Has quisquis creveris postulo fundo praeces · temporIB QVARTi construxit
praesulis ipse · Terbino in anno · : indictio prima tenebat ECCE LEOnis

Rome; S. Maria in via Lata, in the lower church. Fragment of an inscription commissioned by Gregory *nobilis* commemorating his erection of his tomb in the sixth year of the reign of Leo IV and 1st indiction.

De Rossi, II, p. LX; Grossi-Gondi, no. 28, pl. XXXIII; Silvagni, I, pl. XV.

The inscription was found in 1658 and the text was copied and preserved in *cod. Chis.*, I. VI. 205, f. 145, whence de Rossi published it. A fragment was rediscovered in excavations in 1914. Grossi-Gondi suggests that this Gregorius is the Gregorius *nobilis magister militum* and later *dux*, who appears in the *Liber Pontificalis* in the life of Benedict III (855–858). Leo IV reigned 847–855. The inscription is therefore dated to 853.

The paleography is extraordinary, particularly the Q. But perhaps it is a reflection of the eccentricity of this Gregorius, who wrote his epitaph and dated it so long before his death.

No. 81 854

+ QUAMVIS IN PARVO CONsISTAT CONDITA muro
URBS HAEC NULLA HOMINUM SEu beLLA NOCERE VA
lebent
DESINAT HINC BELLATOr . . . atrOX IAM DESINAT HOSTIS
NON HANC UT Quisquam valeat URBEM VIOLARE

Civitavecchia; episcopal palace. Record of the foundation of a city.

O. Marucchi, *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1900, 202, pl. VI; Grossi-Gondi, no. 29, pl. XXXIV.

The inscription, together with another with the monogram of Leo, was found near Cencelle and taken to Civitavecchia. The inscription is broken in six pieces so that the middle of each line and the end of the first two are missing. The restorations in the text given here are from Marucchi. The foundation in 854 of Leopolis, twelve miles from Civitavecchia, as a refuge for the inhabitants of that city from the continual ravages of the Saracens, is described in the *Liber Pontificalis* (vol. II, 131). It seems probable that the inscription was intended, like those, now lost, made for the wall of Leo IV (*v.* no. 96), to go over the chief gateway to the city, with the monograms, which are on two triangular shaped stones that might well be the vertical arms of a Greek cross, placed above. The inscription is surrounded on three sides with a single interlace ornament.

The lettering is more compressed and mannered than in nos. 75, 77 and 78, but may, I think, be classed with them as an example of the same style.

No. 82 (Plate XX, 1) 867

. . . ISTE GENUS MORTALE REPENTE
. . . ERAS EOIS PARTIBUS AULAE *etc.*

Rome; St. Peter's, in the crypt. Epitaph of Pope Nicholas I, in verse. Broken at edges and left half missing. The complete text is given by Grisar, including emendations and portions preserved in the MS. sources.

P. Mallius in de Rossi, II, 215; F. Cancellieri, *De Secretariis Basilicae Vaticanae*, 1786, IV, 1621, III, 1398; Sarti et Settele, 58, 135, pl. XV; Grisar, 186, pl. IV (with bibliography); Grossi-Gondi, no. 32, pl. XXXIV; Dufresne, p. 49; Marucchi, *Eléments*, I, 252, III, 131; Duchesne II, 172; Schneider no. 34; Silvagni, I, pl. II, 7.

The top left corner of the stone, bearing the first words of the first four lines, had already been broken off and lost when the inscription was first transcribed by Mallius in the XII century. By the time that it was rediscovered in the pontificate of Pius VI, the rest of the left half had gone.

The inscription is quite deeply cut and the lettering is bold and generous. The wide, round O, D, C, Q and the full, well-rounded bowls to the P, R, combined with the intricate tail of the Q and the swash bar to some of the A's, are reminiscent of the characteristic generosity and curliness of the lettering of Damasus.[36] There is no comparable contemporary inscription. There are no abbreviations and only one ligature.

[36] Cf. Silvagni, I.

No. 83 872

+ ei mIHI COMPOSUIT MortalIS PONDERA CARNIS
haDRIANUS PraeSUL HIC SUA MATER Humus *etc.*

Rome; St. Peter's, in the crypt. Epitaph of Pope Hadrian II, in verse. The complete text, including parts now lost, is given in Grisar.

Torrigio, 332, 440; F. Cancellieri, *De secretariis Basilicae Vaticanae,* 1786, IV, 1750; Sarti et Settele, 88, 136, pl. XXXII; P. Sabinus in de Rossi, II, 419, no. 20; Dufresne, no. 143; H. Grisar, 187, pl. IV; Diehl, pl. 40a; Grossi-Gondi, no. 34, pl. XXXIV; Duchesne, II, 190; Silvagni, I, pl. II, 8; Schneider, no. 35.

The inscription was copied by Petrus Sabinus in the XII century. Two fragments were found and published, but not identified by Torrigio in 1635. Two more were found by Sarti in 1840, who emended the text. Some of his emendations have been confirmed by comparison with the MS. of Sabinus.

The inscription is irregularly done in the depth of the cutting in the size, forms, and spacing of the letters. There are occasional flourishes used as stops, and in the last line the letters are only half the usual height. The inscription has only one abbreviation and no ligatures. The epigraphy is perhaps nearer to the Neapolitan calendar, no. 124, than to any Roman inscription.

No. 84 (Plate XIX, 1) 872–882

hic murus salvator ADEST INVICtaque porta
quae reprobos arCET SUSCIPIt atque pios

Rome; S. Paolo fuori le Mura, in the epigraphical museum. Fragment of the inscription in verse from the door of walls built by Pope John to protect a sacred place. The complete text, including the portions now lost, is given by de Rossi.

Torrigio, 360; N. M. Nicolai, *Della Basilica di S. Paolo,* 1815, 146; Marini-Mai, p. 329; de Rossi, II, 326, giving the text of Nicolaus Laurentii (XIV century); Muratori, *Antiq.,* II, 463; Grossi-Gondi, no. 36 pl. XXXV; L. Schuster, *La Basilica e il Monastero di S. Paolo,* 1934, 40; Silvagni, I, pl. XV, 11.

The complete text is preserved in the MS. of Nicolaus Laurentii. He saw the inscription '*in porta burgi sci Pauli.*' There is no contemporary record of the building of Joannipolis of which this is probably a relic. A bull of Gregory VII, 1074 (*Bull. Casin.* II *const.* 112) mentions *castellum S. Pauli, quod vocatur Johannipolim,* which seems to have existed till the XIV century. It was presumably built by John VIII to protect S. Paolo from the Saracens, as the *Civitas Leonina* protected St. Peter's. A second inscription seen by Nicolaus Laurentii in the same place mentions the name 'Joannipolis' and Johannes Octavus. John VIII reigned 872–882.

This is the first example of the Roman classical revival. The letters are rather unsure and slightly sloping, but larger, wider and more generously spaced than in the papal style of the beginning of the century. Did John VIII know the inscriptions of the insubordinate archbishop of Milan (nos. 67 and 68)?

No. 85 *c.* 890

HIC REQUIESCUNT CORPORA
SCTOR MARTYRŪ YPPOLITI·
TAUTINI· HERCULIANI· ATQ
IOHANNIS· CALIBITIS . . .
FORMOSUS
CONDIDIT

Rome; Lateran Museum, on the stairs. On the medallion in the middle of the front of a classical sarcophagus from S. Giovanni Calabita.

J. Gruterus, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, 1602–1603, 1053, 6; De Rossi, *Bull.*, 1866, 49 (no text); Cantarelli, *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, 1896, 70; *Arch. Paleog. Ital.* V, fasc. 53, pl. 29, i; Marucchi, *Mus. Crist. Lat.*, pl. XC; Grossi-Gondi, no. 44, pl. XXXV; Silvagni, I, pl. XVI.

Formosus was bishop of Porto before he became Pope in 891. Porto was the previous resting place of the relics, and the church of S. Giovanni Calabita on the Isola Tiberina was attached to the see of Porto. For the epigraphy *v.* p. 98.

No. 86 (Plate XIX, 3) 893

+ HOC JACET HUMATUM TUMULO CORPUS SUPERISTAE
DEMETRII DN̄S NOMINE QUEM VENIENS *etc.*

Rome; in the garden of the Villa Albani. The epitaph, in verse, of Demetrius *superista*, who died April 17th of the third year of Pope Formosus, the 11th indiction. On the side of a sarcophagus. The complete text is given in Melchiorri.

G. Melchiorri, 'In veterem Demetrii superistae inscriptionem commentarium,' *Diss. Acc. Rom. Arch.*, II, 1825, 146 (with line engraving); Grossi-Gondi, no. 45.

The title *superista* occurs in the *Liber Pontificalis* for the first time in the reign of Hadrian I: *Paulus (Afiarta) cubicularius et tunc superista.* Formosus was enthroned September, 891. The eleventh indiction is 893. The inscription is magnificently carved in classical lettering. The date is in smaller compressed letters of a rustic type.

No. 87 *c.* 893

QUISQUIS HUC PR . . .
ILLVSTREM NAT . . .
DEMETRII QUONDA . . .
QUI BONUS ET C . . .
IDCIRCO DN̄M . . .
PANDANTUR QU . . .
ET S̄CA FOVENT . . .
POSSIDEAT CUM . . .
QUI VIXIT ANN·PLM·L

Rome; S. Maria in Trastevere. A fragment with the name of Demetrius, apparently an epitaph.

De Rossi, II, lx, n. 5 (no text); Grossi-Gondi, no. 65.

As de Rossi notes, the inscription is clearly connected with no. 86. The form of the letters and their arrangement, with alternate lines indented, and with initials larger than the norm, are so similar that it appears the work of the same mason. As, however, both inscriptions seem to be epitaphs the two Demetrius can hardly be identical, unless this may refer to some relation of Demetrius.

No. 88 *c.* 840 *or* 964

QUID QUAERIS CONSIDERA DIEM INDICII VENTURUM EC GEE
NNA
IGNIS ET NOLI ALIENA PETERE SCRIPTUM EST RADIX OM NIUM
MALOR *etc.*

Rome; in S. Prassede. The epitaph of Peter, cardinal-priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, signed by Christianus *magister*. The complete text is correctly given by Tomassetti, p. 253, except that he has corrected the mason's errors, E for F in *famulo* (l. 4) and in *funera* (l. 5) and C for T in *et* (l. 1).

C. Promis, *Notizie epigrafiche degli artefici marmorarii romani*, 1836 (no text); G. Tomassetti, 'Dei Sodalizi in genere e dei marmorarii Romani,' *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, 1906, 233; Galletti, CCCVI, 221; Silvagni, I, pl. XXXVIII.

A Peter, cardinal-priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, attended the Roman Council of 964 and this inscription has therefore been attributed to that date; it is not unlike nos. 148–150 except in the sharpness and depth of the cutting and the tendency towards compressed proportions which recall early IX century inscriptions. It is comparable too with no. 71. If it is IX century it is a debased example of the papal style.

The signature of the mason, Christianus, is inscribed vertically as in nos. 8 and 27.

VIII. THE POPULAR SCHOOL AND THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PAPAL TERRITORIES AND THE ADRIATIC COAST, 800–900

Ravenna and the Exarchate were finally conquered by the Lombards about 750. As a result of the Carolingian intervention the greater part of what had been the Exarchate and the Pentapolis became part of the Papal territory, the Exarchate in 756, the Pentapolis in 774. We have seen that the majority of 'popular' inscriptions before 800 came from this area, or from the Ducatus Romae. With the end of the Exarchate the semi-official style of the VIII century (nos. 16–22) disintegrates. I have therefore treated all the later inscriptions of this area under one heading.

In contrast to the rest of Italy the Carolingian innovation does not seem to have been welcomed here, and its chief effect seems to be the breaking up of the existing traditions.

The surviving material is incoherent, making it difficult to place undated pieces, and it is difficult and perhaps misleading to divide it into rigid groups.

One group, however, is quite clearly defined, so clearly indeed that it seems possible that it is the work of one man and perhaps his pupils. It comprises ten inscriptions, nos. 89–98. Those which are dated all fall within the first half of the century.[37] They are unmistakably connected with the 'popular' style. The text is similar, though here dedications of works of art predominate and only one is possibly an epitaph (no. 97). The class of patron is the same, the majority being priests and bishops. The names are Latin or Greek except the priest Ido at Cortona (this inscription should perhaps be among the Carolingian ones since it was in Frankish territory, but its connection with the group is clear) and bishop Rumald at Anagni. Various letters typical of the 'popular' style are again characteristic; G with a separated spur, the small O, the very open C, M invariably with a short drop, and R with an outstepping leg. The majority too are connected with sculpture, but the two elements are no longer planned to create an aesthetic unit; instead the text is usually inscribed straight out in one line—for they are all very short. The sculpture is also far more homogeneous, the motives used and the technique of carving is very similar throughout the group, though not sufficiently original to be distinctive. The letter-cutting, like that of the VIII century, is sharp and lively, but now it has a certain order and regularity; the size varies comparatively little and orientation is normal. The wildness of the 'popular' style has been tamed and schooled. Besides this general change in character, the uncial forms of the VIII century have been abandoned, also the very wide E and F—in the new style these letters are particularly neat and characteristic—and the tilted S. Ligatures are rather more common. Dating is by the reigning bishop or emperor; years or indictions are not given. I have called this group 'popular' style II.

Apart from this group there are a number of inscriptions from this area, nos. 99–105, which have one obvious factor in common, the compressed proportion of the letters, far more pronounced than the early IX century Roman style and recalling the Ravennate tradition. Examples are found throughout the century, and not only as far north as Venice, but also in Dalmatia.[38] They can hardly be said to form a style, and include indeed the most elegant (no. 102) and the most miserable (no. 105) of this whole section, but seem rather to represent a natural conservatism and perhaps a bias eastwards.[39] The fact of a close connection between this manner and the 'popular' style I is shown in no. 101, where examples of both—possibly contemporary—appear on the same monument.

A third group (nos. 110–117) is fairly easily identifiable as a development in a different direction of the 'popular' style I. Its components are, however, almost all dated to the second half of the century and it is therefore placed last.

There remain four inscriptions (nos. 106–110) which seem baffling, but perhaps represent interesting cross-currents in this period of shifting cultural and political conditions. No. 106 seems to be a typical example of the 'popular' style I, except that it is dated 844–847. The G, however, is not found among other examples, nor the R with bowl and leg reduced to a single curve. This R is found in two other ambiguous inscriptions; no. 126, at Cimitile, associated with sculpture reminiscent of Pavian work,

[37] Very similar lettering is, however, shown on the arch from Knin, reproduced by Strzygowski, *Altslavische Kunst*, p. 93 (fig. 66), apparently dated 892–910.

[38] Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, fig. 65, well of Duke Viceslav, *c.* 800.

[39] *Cf.* also nos. 61–65 and 69.

and another, no. 107, typically 'popular' in the incorporation of lettering into the sculptural design, but using the square C, of which the first dated example in our period is 846 (no. 66). The C occurs also in the lettering on the ivory Pax of Duke Ursus[40] combined with proportions (wider than style II) and the clean-cut, wide cross-section of popular letters. This is the characteristic also of no. 108, Plate XVIII, 3 (which uses also the G form of no. 106, though this is a not uncommon form). Both in sculpture and epigraphy no. 108 is closely connected with no. 109, and the sculpture is Lombard in iconography though not in execution.[40a] I suggest that these inscriptions are the work of artists of the 'popular' tradition influenced by Carolingian epigraphy and Lombard sculpture and belonging very much to this period of change and hope. It is, as we have seen, typical of this section that Joannes de Venetia should be working in Rome.[41]

Finally, I have classed together (nos. 110–117) the second development of the popular tradition, of which no. 110 is the only example in the first half of the century. Curiously this group discards just the characteristic letters of style I which style II retains, G, S, O. The M, with a long drop and slightly splayed legs, is an innovation. In general, the forms are wider, rounder, less angular—they sprawl over the stone. The sense of life and of design is lost. It is significant that only nos. 110 and 114 and 116 are associated with sculpture. No. 114 might perhaps be classed in the previous group with its square C and less sprawling letters. It is in any case a poor example both of epigraphy and sculpture. It is clear that here we have the decadence of the 'popular' school.

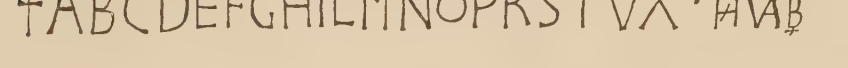
[40] Reproduced in Haseloff, pl. 77.
[40a] Cf. Haseloff, pl. 47.
[41] The epigraphical evidence therefore agrees with Giovenale's view, based largely on the history of S. Maria in Cosmedin, that Joannes' work was done in the reign of Nicholas I (858–867).

No. Height of letters.

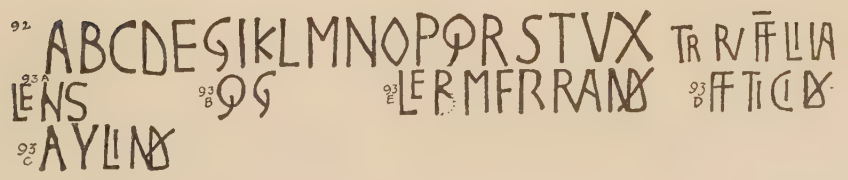
89 †

90 *

91



92 and 93 *c.* 4 cm.



No. Height of letters.

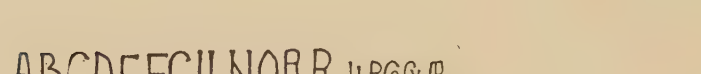
94 †

95 *

96 †

97 *

98 *

99 * 

100 * *c.* 5 cm.

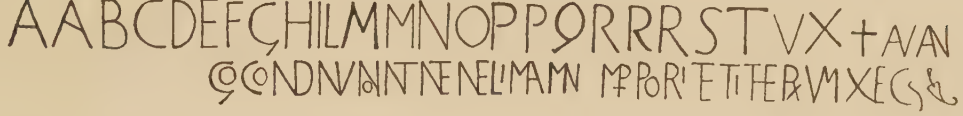
101 4–7 cm.

3–4 cm.

102 *

No. Height of letters.

103 2–4 cm.

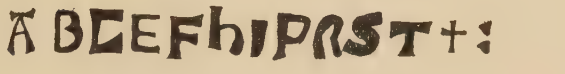


104 6·5–7·5 cm.

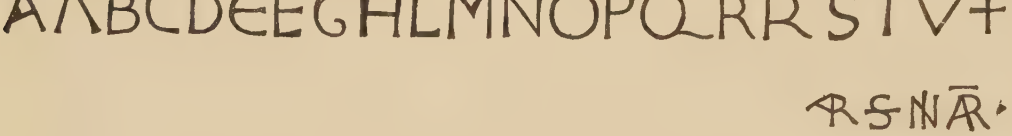
105 * *c.* 6 cm.

106 1–3 cm.

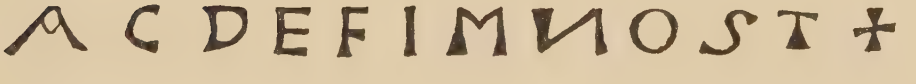
107 1–1·9 cm.



108 †

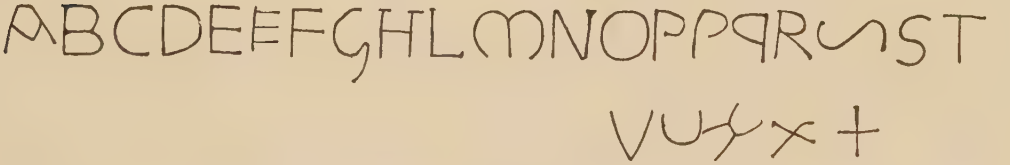


109 †



110 4–8 cm.

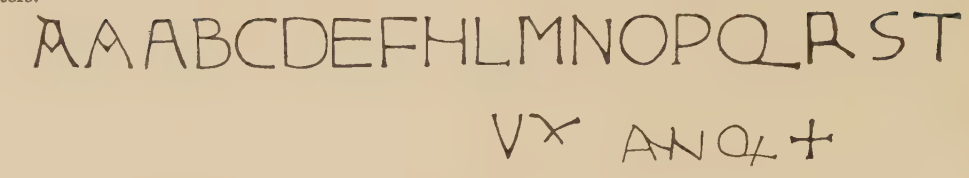
111 2–10 cm.



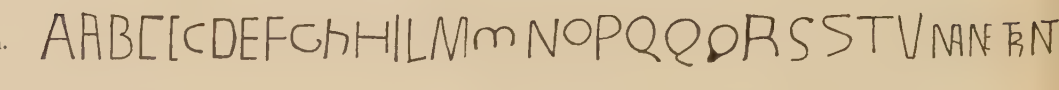
112 2–4·5 cm.

No. Height of letters.

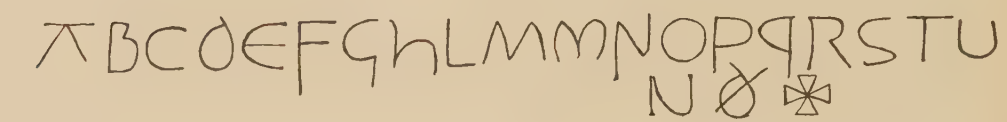
113 4–8 cm.



114 1·5–4 cm.



116 3–9 cm.



117 *

No. 89 (Plate XVIII, 2) 795–816

+ SALBO BEATISSIMO DNM LEONE TERTII PAPAE STEPHANVS INDIGNUS EPISC FECIT.+

Rome; in the Lateran Museum. Round the curve of one arch of a carved ciborium.

De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1866, 101 (with a lithograph); Rohault de Fleury, II, 19; Marucchi, *Mus. Crist. Lat.*, 10, pl. IV; Grossi-Gondi, no. 2, pl. XXXII, 1; Silvagni, I, pl. XV, 1.

The inscription was found at Porto in 1866 during the excavations of the Xenodochio di Pammachio. Ughelli-Coleti, I, 112 gives Stephen, bishop of Porto, as present at the Council of Rome in 826. Leo III was pope 795–816.

No. 90 800–814

tem PORIBUS DN CARULO IMPERATORI IDO PRB FIERI FECI PRO AMORE DI ET SCI VN

Cortona; in the Accademia Etrusca. Round the curve of one arch of a carved ciborium. It is broken at the beginning.

G. Mancini, *Cortona nel medio evo*, 1897, 10; M. Prou, *Chancel Carolingien, Mém. Ac. Inscr.* (with half-tone), 1914, 137.

The ciborium, according to Mancini, comes from the church of S. Vincenzo, to whom the inscription shows that it was dedicated. The style *temporibus dn Carulo imperatori* without qualification suggests Charles the Great (800–814) rather than Charles the Bald (875–877) or Charles the Fat (880–887), and this corresponds with the dates of the other inscriptions of this group. The inscription is pleasing. The neat joins of the bowls and diagonals of R, B, and M are very typical.

No. 91 806–810

+ AD HONOREM DNI · N · IHV · XPI · ET SCI ELEUCHADII · SUB TEMP · DOM · VALERII · ARCHIEP · EGO PETRUS PRESB FECIT

Ravenna; S. Apollinare in Classe, along the top of one side of the carved ciborium over the altar of S. Valerius.

G. B. Mittarelli and G. D. Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses* 1755, I, 17; D. Spretus, *De Amplitudine eversione et restauratione urbis Ravennae*, ed. C. Spreti, 1793, I, 284, II, 392; Marini-Mai, 184; *C.I.L.*, XI, 297; Cattaneo, 186; Grossi-Gondi, no. 7, pl. XXXII.

Bormann (*C.I.L.*) gives 806–810 as the dates of the reign of Valerius, as do Spreti and Amadesi (in *Antistitum Ravennatum Chronotaxis*). Valerius is omitted from Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*. I do not know any other instances of the abbreviation sign B or H. The lettering is mild, but very noticeably different from that of the VIII century Ravennate inscriptions.

No. 92 (Plate XVI, 2) *c.* 826

DE DO	NIS $\overline{\text{DI}}$ E	OFFERO ET . . .
SCE $\overline{\text{DI}}$	GENETR	BI SCE BE . . . *etc.*

Anagni; in the Cathedral museum. Offering by bishop Rumald of a chalice and other metal-work.

Silvagni, I, pl. XLV, 2.

Rumald, bishop of Anagni, was present at the council of Rome in 826. All the Anagni inscriptions are clearly contemporary, if not by the same hand; their alphabets have therefore been treated together except for no. 95, though that is also probably by the same hand. The FF. ligature seems to be an idiosyncrasy.

No. 93 *c.* 826

A. . . . A ECLESIA EX T . . . RANI AB . . .
B. . . . T QVI LEGIT . . .
C. . . . INVIN FVND SILIMIANA SYPTER SILICE . . .
D. . . . DO DONO HOFFERO TIBI SCE AND . . . ET JACOBUS ET FILIPPO TERR . . .
. . . ND PELEGRINI MODIORVM CINQ . . . PARATV DA ANVALDO MA . . .
E. . . . ONOSA
. . . PER . . .
ECLESI . . .
FAUSANI VNC . . .
CVM TERRA B . . .
RRANIE . . .
ND . . .

Anagni; in the cathedral museum. Eight fragments with lettering and carved interlacing patterns. A, D and E are each made up of two fragments; that they were originally parts of the same inscriptions is proved by the fact that they are carved with the same patterns. C, D and E seem to be fragments of donations of land.

Silvagni, I, pl. XLV, 3 (D) and 4 (E).

The forms of the letters in all these fragments are very similar, and it may be presumed that they were all executed in the same workshop as no. 92. Only variant letters in the particular fragments are shown, therefore, on the alphabet.

These fragments have a particular interest in that they are connected with types of pure interlace pattern, such as are very common in Italy, but not normally associated with lettering. The designs with which the other inscriptions of this group are combined are not predominantly interlacing, but include a variety of other motives and are mostly rather more sensitive in execution. This type of carving is nearer to those with which no. 79 is associated, though the variety and complexity of the carving at Castel S. Elia is greater, while a preference for cross and tree motives which is shown in the fragments at Anagni (including numerous uninscribed pieces) gives them a rather different character.

No. 94 *c.* 826

mARIE EGO RUMALDUS INDIGNUS EPCP OFFERO ET . . .
BIT DA EREDI QD POTONICOME KASA MES . . .

Anagni; walled into façade of cathedral. A donation of property by bishop Rumald.

X. Barbier de Montault, *La Cathédrale d'Anagni*, 1857, 21.

Barbier de Montault suggests that the inscription treats of an estate called Potonico;

he reads *eredio de* for *eredi qd* (l. 2). Alternatively, it may be read as concerning a house belonging to the heir of the late Poto *comes*. The date must be *c.* 826, the only date known for Rumald (*v.* no. 92).

No. 95 *? c.* 826

+ SCE MARIE D̄Ī GENETRICIS ET BEATI ESTEFANI MARTIRI
EGO INDIGNUS
ET PECCATOR DOMENICUS T . . .

Murano; walled into the outside of the cathedral. Fragmentary.

Selvatico, *Architettura e scultura in Venezia*, 1847; J. Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, 1851, II, 47; Cattaneo, 288; Grossi-Gondi, no. 81; Rahtgens, *S. Donato zu Murano*, 1903, 39.

The last letter of the inscription as it survives, T, has been identified by most commentators as the beginning of *Torcellanus episcopus*, and in particular with Domenicus Caloprino, bishop of Torcello 874–880. Rahtgens gives an earlier bishop Domenicus about 826, and this date fits in better with the other dated inscriptions of this group.

No. 96 852

A. + CIVITAS LEONIANA
B. + TEMPORIB · DOM · LEONIS Q·P·P·HANC PAGINE ET DU
AS TURRES · SALTISINE MILITIAE CONSTRUXIT
C. + HANC TURREM
ET PAGINE UNA · F
ACTA · A MILITIAE
CAPRACORUM .
TEM · D̄O̅M̄ · LEONIS
QUA̅R̄ · P̄P̄ · EGO AGATHO CU

Rome; walled above the arch of the Corridoio di Castello where it leads from the Piazza del Risorgimento to the colonnade of St. Peter's. Records of the construction of the Civitas Leonina.

Torrigio, 400; Muratori, *Antiq.*, II, 458; Marini, 240, with bibliography; Marini-Mai, 344; Duchesne (C), I, 518, A and B, II, 138; Grossi-Gondi, no. 27, pl. XXXIV; Silvagni, I, pl. XV, 8–10.

Torrigio records (C) as in the pavement of S. Jacopo de Septimiano in Trastevere; he had apparently not seen it. Of the other two he says, '*Fu fabricato questo corritore sopra le antiche muraglie di Papa Leon IV . . . e fino al 1634 vi è stata un antica iscrittione di quel tempo nella muraglia della strada dietro al corritore novamenta aperta nel 1632.*'

The building in 852 of the wall of Leo IV round the Vatican to defend it from the Saracen is recorded in detail in the *Liber Pontificalis* (II, 123), together with details of its construction *de singulis civitatibus massisque universis publicis ac monasteriis, per vices suas.* Marini suggested that Massa Saltisina was the same as *domus culta Calvisianum*; Duchesne

disagrees. Massa Capracorum was a large district between Veio and Nepi (*v.* Tomassetti, *Arch. Rom. di Stor. Pat.*, V, 137–156). The word *pagina* is obscure. Marini translates it *facciata*, Torrigio as *bastiorie, baluardo ripara o massiccio*. It is to be noted that these are not the official inscriptions of Leo IV, which are lost (although the text is recorded in de Rossi), but those of the people who did the work. Cf. no. 81.

Though the history of the Capracorum inscription is obscure, the paleographical similarity of the three pieces make it clear that they are contemporary, if not executed by the same mason.

No. 97 *first half of IX century*

SUBDUCI FACIAS UBI SPLENDID . . . THEA EST ET CUM
SANCTIS IN . . .

Pola; in Museo Civico. An epitaph?

A. Gnirs, 'Frühchristliche Denkmäler in Pola,' *Jahrb. der K. K. Zentral Komm.*, 1906, 254 (reproduction); A. Gnirs, *Führer durch Pola*, 1915, 30 (reproduction).

The inscription was found during the excavations in the Kugel u. Artilleriepark in 1906. The middle fragment *i splendid* is shown at the end in Gnirs' first photograph. Above the inscription is a pattern of crockets as in the Murano inscription (no. 95). The lettering is wider spaced and more irregular than appears in the alphabet. The C, and sometimes the S, is shorter than the other letters.

No. 98 (Plate XVIII, 1) *first half of IX century*

+ STEPHANUS VATES TIBI MAR
TYR EVTICII SPECIAE MARMORIS DD

Nr. Soriano nel Cimino; in the Convent of S. Eutizio (Diocese of Orte). On the lintel of a door now walled in. Above is an arch decorated with an unfinished contemporary relief of confronting peacocks.

Marini-Mai, 127.

Ughelli-Coleti gives a Stephen, bishop of Narni *floruit* 813 (I. 1013), and one bishop of Orte 826 (I. 735). The M is different from the other style II popular inscriptions and is rare at any time. This is the only one of the group with square C, cf. no. 66 and 107. Both peculiarities might be attributed to South Italian influence.

No. 99 775–814

CAROLI REGI FRANCOR ET LANGUBARD . . .

Ferrara; in the archiepiscopal palace. The inscription runs round a curved surface, perhaps the top of a pulpit.

Diehl, pl. 39d; Grossi-Gondi, no. 3.

The inscription is rather roughly cut. The letter-forms are obviously derived from the Lombard style, particularly the C, but it is far removed from the skill and elegance of that school.

No. 100 (Plate XX, 3) 795–816

A. + DE DONIS DI ET SCI SALBATORIS TEMBORIB DNN LEONIS TERTII PAPE ET BENEDICTO EPO EGO BENEDICTUS PRB UNA CUM GAVIA ANCILLA DI ET GERMANIS PRO REDEMTIONE ANIME NRE . FECIMUS . ORATE PRO NOBIS PECCATORIS

B. URSUS MARTINUS MAGISTRI

Berlin; in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, no. 6277. B is on the reverse face of A.

Bildwerke des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz, bearbeitet von W. F. Volbach, 1930, 9 (reproduction).

The slab is in three pieces; it is, according to Volbach, part of a ciborium of which an arch also is in the Berlin museum (no. 6276). It was acquired in 1903 and is said to come from Rome. The carving on the arch is more reminiscent of no. 30 (also signed by Ursus) than any other ciborium. The proportions of the letters retain something of the Roman VIII century tradition, but the inscription is sharply distinguished from it by its neat, clean cutting. In this, and in certain letter-forms B and R (cf. no. 90) and M it is like the popular style II. The general spacing is not unlike that of no. 81. The form of the inscription and the substitution of B for V both suggest a popular style.

No. 101 828

A. IN · N · DNI · NRI
IHU XPI TEPE
DNN HLUDO
VVICUS ET
HLOTERIUS
EIUS FILIO · AN
NI IMPERII · EO
RUM · XPO IV
VANTE QUAR DE
ET SEXTO DIE OC
TAVO ME NOVEMB
P · IND · SEXTA
pt PRB FIERI ROGA

B. + PETRUS
PRBAEECI

Budrio; in the chapel of S. Giustina. A on the shaft of a carved cross. B on reverse face.

C. Sigonio, *De episcopis Bononiensibus*, 1586, 40; C. C. Malvasia, *Marmora Felsinea*, 1690, 572; C. Ghirardacci, *Della Historia di Bologna*, 1596, 39; D. Golinelli, *Memorie Istoriche di Budrio*, 1720, 28 (with line

engraving); Muratori, *Thes.*, MCMXXIV, 7; Muratori, *Antiq.*, V, col. 552; Marini-Mai, 4; G. Gozzadini, *Delle Croci monumentali ch'erano nelle vie di Bologna*, 1863, 14; M. G. Zimmermann, *Oberitalische Plastik*, 1897, fig. 2; E. A. Stuckelberg, *Longobardische Plastik*, 1896, 87, fig. 119; M. Prou, 'Chancel Carolingien', *Mém. Ac. Inscr.*, 1912, 129, reproduction of both sides; Grossi-Gondi, no. 43.

Sigonio and Ghirardacci record the inscription as in the Pieve of Budrio. By the time of Golinelli it was in S. Giustina. The last line of A. is almost illegible. No text before Golinelli gives B. Louis the Pious was crowned in August, 813, and the fourteenth year of his reign, 828, corresponds with the sixth of his son Lothar if that is taken from his coronation in April, 823.

The cutting of A is very meagre and stilted. B is like a popular inscription. The mixture is perhaps an indication of the uncertainty of the time. The cross is carved with a foliage pattern on one side (much the same design as no. 53) and an interlace on the other.

No. 102 857

AN INCARNAT DNI DCCCLVII
IND V · REGE LODOWICO IMP AUG
IN ITALIA HANDEGIS HUIUS AECCAE
ELEC · D · PENT · CONS · EPS SED AN · V

Pola; walled into the exterior of the cathedral. Inscription of bishop Handegis in 857.

Marini-Mai, p. 85; H. Folnesics u. Planiscig, *Bau u. Kunstdenkmäler des Küstenlands*, I, 1916, 26, reproduction; Rivoira, I, 174; Grossi-Gondi, no. 33.

The inscription is on what was probably originally the carved gable-end of a sarcophagus. The sculpture is rounder and in higher relief than usual. The first and last lines are smaller, but there is no irregularity. It is skilful and elegant; the influence from Cividale is shown in the pointed O (no. 38) and the otherwise unknown ligature O–V (no. 32) and in the general proportions. The letters are, however, less mannered. Square C has been introduced and the text is more on the formula of a popular inscription.

No. 103 871

+ BEATA DI GENETRIX SEMPER VIRGO MARIA
DE TUA TIVI DONA LEO INDIGNUS EPC TE *etc.*

Civita Castellana; in the atrium of the cathedral. Gift of land to the blessed Virgin Mary by bishop Leo in the year 871 and a declaration that any succeeding bishop who may wish to alienate these lands shall be anathema, *et de tribunibus vel comitibus clero aut populo qui consenserit anatema sit*. The complete text is given by Mai, except that the very frequent ligatures are not noted, also: l. 10 *Fund Mac(clin)ione;* a break in the marble makes the letters in brackets illegible; l. 13 *Nucito* should be *Nacitu;* l. 19 *unc III* should be *uncias III*.

Fontanini, 33; D. Giorgi, *De Cathedra Episcopali Setiae Civitatis*, 1727, 40; F. S. Maffei, *Museum Veronense*, 1749, 359; Marini, 301; Marini-Mai, 233; Grossi-Gondi, no. 35.

The Latin is barbarous, V and B, U and O are interchanged and there are many abbreviations: letters are ligatured regardless of the beginning and end of words. The cutting is delicate, but the letters are very irregular in size, without, however, any popular feeling.

No. 104 (Plate XII, 3) 882

+ AD HONORE $\overline{DNI}$: NOSTRI $\overline{IHV\ XPI}$: ET $\overline{SCE}$ DI
IENETRICIS $\overline{SEP}$
QUE VIRGINIS MARIE : EGO QUIDEM URSUS PECCATOR : DUX
FIERI IUSSII :
ROGO VOS OMS QUI HUNC LEGITIS ORATE P ME TEMPORIBUS
DOMNO $\overline{IOH}$ PP: ET KAROLI TERTIO : $\overline{IMP}$: IND : $\overline{XV}$:

In the parish church of San. Leo in Romagna (Prov. Pesaro e Urbino), round the square stand of the font.

Marini-Mai, 185; Muratori, *Thes.*, mcmlxii; Grossi-Gondi, no. 42.

This *dux* Ursus has been identified with the *dux* who commissioned the ivory Pax (*v.* p. 107), and it seems quite possible, though the lettering is not very similar. This is indeed unlike any contemporary inscription. In particular the B and the ligature DHO are extraordinary. The square C and the abbreviations *sep* for *semper* and *p* for *pro* are typical of the period, though otherwise the closest connection is with VIII century Ravenna.

No. 105 *early IX century*

ID M DE PATRIS ID E FILII $\overline{SCO}$QUE PARACLITO SPO
INTERCEDENTAM SEMPER virGINE . . .

Berlin; Kaiser Friedrich Museum, no. 6A. Along the top of one side of a ciborium.

Bildwerke des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien u Byzanz, bearbeitet von W. F. Volbach, 1930, 8, with reproduction; Cabrol et Leclercq, II, 776.

The side of the ciborium was acquired in 1841 from the Pajaro collection and was said to have come from Venice. The inscription is hardly more than scratched on the stone and is difficult to read. It probably continued along the other sides of the ciborium. The carving in contrast is rather well done and related to that at Cividale. The epigraphy is clearly very similar to that at Budrio (no. 101).

No. 106 844–847

ST/EP/HA/NI/PRI/MIS/MA/RTI/RI/EGO/LUP/OGR/IGA/RIV/S/E/CAN/
PANA/EX/PEN/SIS/FECI/T$\overline{E}$/MP/D$\overline{N}$/SER/GII/TER/B$\overline{E}$A/SSIM/ET CO/
ANGE/LICO/IUNIO/RIS/PA/PE/AM/EN .

Rome; in the Museo Nazionale, no. 49985. On two vertical strips on a slab which

is divided into strips on different planes, but unornamented. It is broken in two vertically and the top is missing.

Fortunati, *Relazione generale degli scavi e scoperte fatte lungo la via Latina*, 1859, 18; Duchesne, II, 47, n. 121; Grossi-Gondi, no. 24, pl. XXXIII; Silvagni, I, pl. XV, 3.

The church of S. Stefano was restored by Leo III (795–816). The inscription is dated to the reign of Sergius *iunior papa, i.e.*, Sergius II (844–847). This is the latest dated example of the original popular style.

No. 107 *early IX century*

+ STĒPH
ABB ⁝ FIERI
FECIT

Castel S. Elia, near Nepi; on altar on left of aisle.

Tomassetti, *Arch. R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Pat.*, 1882, 613.

This is typically popular style I in the relation of the letters to the sculpture. It must, however, I think be IX century, because of the square C (earliest example no. 66, 846). The R is a curious form not found in VIII century popular inscriptions but in no. 106.

Tomassetti also publishes (*loc. cit.*) the text of the epigraph of an Abbot Stefanus in the churchyard at Castel S. Elia, which unfortunately I did not see. The text is typical of a popular inscription. It gives no indication of date.

The sculptured relief of a bird, of which this forms part, is more abstract than those associated with no. 79.

No. 108 (Plate XVIII, 3) *mid IX century*

+ HIC RECONDITUM ES · T · CAPUT S SAVINI
SPOLITINI · EPĪ · ET MĀR · ET COSTA S̄ CESARM̄
+ ET SANGVINEM SCI
SEBASTIANI MĀR̄ ET RELIQUIE SC̄I
ABUNDI MĀR̄ + ET RRLIQUIE SCI QUADRAG .

Rome; S. Maria in Aventino. Round the pediment of a miniature gateway carved in marble.

De Rossi, *Bull.*, 1866, 101; Marucchi, *Basiliques*, 180; Diehl, pl. 38; Haseloff, pl. 59; Silvagni, I, pl. XL, 7.

The abbreviations ꝑ and *mar* are those used in the Neapolitan calendar (no. 124) and not in the VIII century Roman lists of relics. The inscription is cut forcefully, like a popular inscription, and the sizes of the letters are variable and the spacing uneven, but

without any design in the irregularity. Possibly it is rather like that now defaced on the carving at Civita Castellana, no. 54; compare also the M. The sculpture is very different and should be compared to no. 109. Silvagni considers it XII century.

No. 109 *mid IX century*

JOANNES DE VENETIA ME FECIT

Rome; portico of S. Maria in Cosmedin. Along the top of a strip carved with symbols of the evangelists, etc. The stone has been re-used and cut to fit the present XI century doorway.

Giovenale, *S. Maria in Cosmedin*, 1927, 290, pl. XXXIV.

Giovenale has pointed out the similarity between the carving here and on no. 108. Both should be compared with the sculpture on no. 38. The very wide letters are presumably partly due to the very narrow space—*v.* also p. 106.

No. 110 *probably* 827

+ DE DONIS $\overline{\text{DI}}$ ET $\overline{\text{SCI}}$ PETRI APOSTOLI TEMPORIBUS
$\overline{\text{DN}}$ DEUSDEDI IOHANNIS UMLIS
$\overline{\text{VB}}$ $\overline{\text{EPC}}$ $\overline{\text{PRB}}$ FECIT
PER $\overline{\text{IND}}$ V

Bagnacavallo; in S. Pietro in Silvis. Dedication of a ciborium by the priest John in the reign of bishop Deusdedit, indiction 5.

H. Rubeus, *Historiarum Ravennatum*, 1572, 216; A. Fabri, *Le sacre memorie di Ravenna antica*, 1664, 455; Fontanini, 32 (with line engraving); Muratori, *Antiq.*, V, 358; Marini-Mai, 185; A. Strocchi, *Serie cronologica dei vescovi di Faenza*, 1841, 35; Rohault de Fleury, II, 20; Cappelletti, II, 247; Cattaneo, 117, fig. 50; A. Messeri, 'Di una insigne e poco nota basilica cristiana,' *Boll. d'Arte*, 1910, 325 (with full bibliography); Grossi-Gondi, no. 75.

When it was seen by Rubeus and Fontanini the inscription was in the pavement of the church. It was fixed in its present position on the wall in 1773. The dating of the inscription has given rise to much discussion. The abbreviation VB has been interpreted as *urbis* and as *Vicobentini* and Deusdedit thus made the pope or the bishop of Voghenza. VB is, however, a common abbreviation round Ravenna and seems usually to mean *venerabilis*. The natural assumption is that Deusdedit was bishop of the diocese which included Bagnacavallo. Strocchi quotes a document of John VIII of 881 which refers to S. Pietro in Silvis as in the diocese of Faenza. The only known Deusdedit of Faenza ruled 826–830. The 5th indiction falls in 827, and this date, therefore, seems reasonably secure.

The letters are very wide and clearly cut. The R with a gap between the bowl and leg is not found elsewhere, though the straight out-stepping leg is a popular characteristic. The stem of the L still protrudes slightly below, as in earlier inscriptions.

No. 111 883

+ HIC REQUIESCIT IN PACE
IOANNIS COMa FILIUS *etc.*

Morlupo; in the Dominican Convent. Epitaph of *dux* Joannes Coma, son of Leo, the builder of the church in which he was buried. He died July 26th, indiction 1, in the time of Pope John VIII. This tomb was erected by Peturnia *nobilissima femina*. Complete text in Tomassetti.

G. Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana*, III, 1913, 302; Grossi-Gondi, no. 41.

Tomassetti records that the inscription was found during the restoration of the altar of the convent church. The dating raises a difficulty. John died December, 882. The 1st indiction runs from September, 882, to September, 883. July would therefore be in 883, after the death of John VIII.

The only abbreviation is *Ioh* for *Iohannis*. It is remarkable that the abbreviations usual in popular inscriptions, *ecc*, *tem*, *ind*, are not used. *Bocabit* is inscribed for *vocavit*. The rounded tilted X is peculiar. The S on its side is common on Merovingian coins and rings, but rare at so late a date.

No. 112 *c.* 890

IACEO INDIGNUS HIC TUMU
LATUS EGO FELIX AD FUND *etc.*

S. Giovanni d'Antro above Cividale. Epitaph of Felix, begging all those *ascendentes* and *descendentes* to pray for him. The complete text is given in either reference.

G. Grion, *Guida Storica di Cividale*, 1899, 37; T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, 1916, VI, 317.

The inscription records that Felix is buried *ad fundamenta ecclesiae Johannis;* and the phrase *ascendentes et descendentes* confirms the presumption that this is the place where the inscription now is, which is half-way up a steep mountain path. Hodgkin quotes Grion's suggestion that this Felix is he of that name mentioned by Paul the Deacon as a scholar of the Court of Pavia. The crudeness and lack of any attempt at elegance in either the phrasing or the cutting make this most improbable when it is compared with the VIII century Lombard inscriptions. Moreover Grion cites a donation by Berenger of Friuli to Felix the deacon of rights at Broxias *in finibus S. Ioannis in Antro*. The deed is dated 888. Epigraphically the inscription falls naturally into this late popular style, and a date shortly after 888 is therefore confirmed.

The inscription is very rough, not so broad and confident as others of this group. The open A is not occasional, as in most instances of its occurrence, but common. There are few abbreviations. The curious round-topped R is perhaps a derivation of the R with protruding stem as at Ferrara (no. 49).

No. 113 (Plate XXIII, 2) 892–915

+ HIC IN PACE RE
ESCUNT OSSA SIGIFRI
DI ABBATIQ FELICIT REX
ECCLAM̄ SCI̅ ANTIM . . .
P OCTavOS ANNOS HO . . .
MINE . . . EXIVIT
NON A̅ . N̅ DIC . Q
CV̄Q : V . . . DESHV
HIC : MISERERE DS

Montalcino; in the cathedral. Epitaph of Sigifrid, abbot of S. Antimo for eight years. The bottom of the stone is covered with paint.

A. Canestrelli, 'L'Abazia di S. Antimo,' *Siena Monumentale*, 1910, 18 and 23. No text.

The abbey of S. Antimo, near Montalcino, was traditionally founded by Charles the Great. Its earliest document is a donation of Louis the Pious of 813. Canestrelli found five MS. lists of the abbots, all of which give Sigifrid as reigning between 892 and 915, although the actual dates vary. The inscription is given as the source. That part of the inscription is, however, now completely illegible.

The inscription is very much rubbed and defaced.

No. 114 *? early IX century*

SCULUM QUINTANAS ET FENESTRAS CUM PABIMENTO QUO
IUTOR QUI PRO AMORE DI̅ ET BEATI BENEDICTI ABBATI :
QUI IN HUNC LOCUM MAGNUM CERTAMEN HABUIT.

Subiaco; in the cloister of S. Scolastica. At the top of a sculptured panel.

Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, 1687, I, 128; Marini-Mai, 151, 1; A. Nibby, *Viaggio antiquario. Memorie Romane di Antichità*, IV, 1827, 67; C. Mirzio, *Cronaca Sublacense*, 1628, first published 1885, 130; *I Monasteri di Subiaco*, 1904, P. Egidi in I, 61, V. Federici in II, 393; Toesca, I, 458, reproduction only.

The inscription covers a blank space above a carving of two confronting deer drinking. The space seems to have been left for this purpose and there is no reason to suppose that the inscription and carving are not contemporary. Mirzio records that it was found under the pavement of the church. The meaning of *sculum quintanas* is obscure (*v.* Federici).

Pabimento is written for *pavimento*. This, with no. 107, is the only example of square C in a popular inscription, which suggests a date after 800. The curious G is similar to that of no. 56; the forms are more compressed than the other IX century inscriptions; this and the uncertain multiplicity of the latter forms suggests a possible relation with the early IX century South Italian School.

This inscription and carving have often been dated to 981 owing to the inscription no. 115, which has been added to the relief. This latter inscription is almost certainly a forgery.

No. 115 *an ancient forgery*

+ EDIFI/CATIO/U/ IUS ĒCLE/ SCE SCOLAS/ TICE/ TEMPORE/ DOMNI BE/ NEDICTI VII/ PP AB IPSO/ PPA DEDLICATA/ QD.S.AN.AB IN/ CARNATIONE/ DN̄I CCCCCCC/ CCLXXXI.M̄/ DEC̄B.DIIII INDICTIONE/ VIII.ID.

Subiaco; in the cloister of S. Scolastica. On the same sculptured panel as no. 106, but carved on the back of one of the animals.

Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, I, 128; Marini-Mai, 151, 1; A. Nibby, 'Viaggio antiquario,' *Memorie Romane di Antichità*, IV, 1827, 67; C. Mirzio, *Cronaca Sublacense*, 1628, first published 1885, 130; *I Monasteri di Subiaco*, 1904, P. Egidi in I, 80, V. Federici II, 398; Toesca, I, 458, reproduction only.

Egidi doubts the authenticity of the inscription on the grounds of (1) its incongruous location; (2) its discordant dating; the indiction does not correspond; (3) its calling the church after S. Scholastica alone instead of either S. Benedict or S. Benedict and S. Scholastica, as in other documents of X–XIV centuries; (4) the form of the letters. Federici goes into the paleography more in detail, objecting to the S, Q, the abbreviations for *die* (D), *sunt* (S), *papa* (PPa), *quod* (qd), *Decembris* (Decb). Both agree that it is a late attempt to provide evidence for the tradition that S. Scholastica was built by Benedict VII. The *Chronicon Sublacense*, written in the XIV century, records that Benedict VII came to Subiaco to dedicate the church of S. Scolastica. R. Morghen (*Chronicon Sublacense Rer. Ital. Script.*, XXIV, pt. 6, 1927, 7) thinks that this tradition was probably derived from the inscription, though he accepts the proofs of Federici and Egidi that the inscription is a forgery. The way of writing the date is unparalleled, also the forms of D and S used as abbreviations. The paleography is too rude for it to be possible to date with certainty (*v.* no. 85), but a X century date for no. 114, which is more formed paleographically, would be surprising. The cumulative evidence seems conclusive.

No. 116 *IX century*

+ D D̄ON̄ D̄I ET SCI MARCI
I0H̄ P̄RB̄ FIE ROGABIT
OMNE SITIENTE VENITE BE
VITE AD AQUA ET SI QUIS D STA
AQUA PRETIO TULERI ANATHEMA SIT

Rome; on the portico of S. Marco, on a well-head.

Marini-Mai, 191, 2; De Rossi, 'Simbolismo Cristiano dell 'acqua, dei pozzi e delle fontane' (with a lithograph), *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1867, 78; Grossi-Gondi, no. 60.

The inscription was seen by Doni in the XVII century '*nella vigna di M. Antonio Toscanella di fronte a S. Rosso*,' which de Rossi interprets as near the site of the villa Altoviti. It was first published from the MS. of Doni by Mai. When de Rossi saw it it was at the Villa Altoviti.

The paleographical similarity of this inscription to no. 14 is clear, particularly in the A, E, G, M, D. The surface of the well is very rough and the cutting here is altogether coarse and rude. The inscription is also reminiscent of no. 111 in its broad, coarse letters, and I should be inclined to date it after 800. The A with a bar on top is found in Rome as late as 890 (no. 85).

No. 117 *IX century*

+ $\overline{\text{IN N DNI}}$ EGO FORMVSANVS $\overline{\text{COND}}$ VNA CVM CONVIGE MEA SVFIA SEPVLCHRVM ISTV *etc.*

Rome; in the Lateran Museum. Epitaph of Formusanus and his wife Sufia, ending with an anathema against any violator of the tomb. The complete text is given by Marucchi.

Marucchi, *Mus. Crist. Lat.*, 71, pl. XC, 10; Diehl, pl. 37e; Silvagni, I, pl. XXXVIII, 3.

There is no indication of date. The lettering is very wide and sprawling. The R in which the bowl and leg are reduced to straight lines is peculiar. B and M are very typical letters. B is written for V, the H and T in *habeat* are dropped. The formula of anathema is similar to no. 51.

IX. SOUTH ITALIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY IX CENTURY, INCLUDING THE BENEVENTAN SCHOOL

The earliest South Italian inscriptions of our period fall into two distinct groups, the remarkable stylistically well-defined group of princely epitaphs at Benevento, and a group of six inscriptions, some of them very famous, which show the stylistic uncertainty which we have found elsewhere at this date. We have to allow also for a certain time-lag between the north and south, clearly demonstrated not only in the late flowering of South Italian Lombard culture (*v.* p. 160), but in the border of no. 123 obviously connected with Pavian carving, and in the reminiscence of VIII century Roman mannerisms in no. 124, both long after such practices had ceased in their place of origin. This makes it particularly difficult to place undated inscriptions, such as no. 126, with certainty. The second group can hardly be said to form a school, but the study of later South Italian inscriptions reveals that they are definitely connected with an evolving style, of which no. 125 (Plate XXI, 2) and one of the three hands which can be distinguished in no. 124 show already distinct characteristics.

Though hardly a trace of the Lombard epigraphical tradition survives to the IX century in the north, in the south, where the duchy of Benevento, alone of the Lombard duchies, defied the Carolingian conquest, a new and related school appears to spring up

in the IX century. Even more clearly than at Pavia this is a court school; the fine inscriptions are all epitaphs of members of the ruling family at Benevento. The first of the series must have been the epitaph of Arichis II, the great prince of Benevento who successfully resisted the Franks (758–787). Though his tomb has unfortunately perished, the text has been preserved by the Anonymus Salernitanus. It was written by Paul the Deacon, who sought refuge in Salerno and Montecassino after the Carolingian invasion. It is obviously in the tradition of Pavia and a prototype of the IX century epitaphs.[41a] The earliest surviving example is that of Sico, who was brought up in the Court of Arichis. Epigraphically the inscriptions of Pavia and Benevento are unmistakably distinct. The Beneventan school is homogeneous. Its characteristic is an unimaginative competence far removed from the elegance of the north. The letters are cut deeper and with a wider line, more like the Lombard group II than group IV; the play on serifs is reduced to a curved thickening of the terminals; the peculiar letter-forms serve to identify the style but seem to give it no particular character. Certain of these forms it has in common with the VIII century Pavian school: G ending in a curl, N with the short diagonal, and the selection of Q forms. In none of these, however, is the similarity very close, nor, considering the repertory of the period, does this concurrence betoken any very close relationship. More characteristic of Benevento are the other peculiar letter-forms used. It is they which are noticeable and which reflect, with their wide, flat curves and immobile set, the general proportion of the letters. This more than anything creates the style of the school. These forms are the wide C with flat terminals, uncial H, U and M, and M with a short drop and splayed legs; S is invariably wide, very angular, with flat terminals. Though these letters are all rather wide, the general effect is slightly compressed. This use of uncial letters has hitherto been confined to the popular school, but there is, I think, no significance in this apparent influence. Uncial letters were the common property of every literate person in the IX century, and the idea of introducing manuscript forms into inscribed letters is a very obvious way of evolving a new style. It is to be remarked, however, that it is an idea in direct contravention of classical epigraphy, to which any idea of introducing variety, or indeed of creating a style, is foreign. Beneventan epigraphy has this much in common with Pavian, that both, in their different degrees, are expressive. Some of the inscriptions have incised flourishes, but none of them decorative borders.

All the inscriptions are long, thirty to fifty lines, and are in creditable verse. Misspellings and abbreviations are rare; *ae* is almost always written as a diphthong or plain E. The date is never given, though the day of death, the age and length of reign are often recorded. It is noticeable that this last is habitually calculated in *lustra*; this reckoning is also used in the epitaph of Cumian (no. 33) and in no. 25. According to de Vita (*Thesaurus Antiquitatum Beneventanarum*, 1754, I, 310, no. 6) the tombs of these Lombard princes were in the atrium of Benevento cathedral until the beginning of the XIII century, when it was rebuilt by the Cardinal Archbishop Roger, who built the inscribed slabs from some of the tombs into the façade of his new church.

They were presumably originally intended to cover the top of the sarcophagi in which the princes were buried, in the same way as the Theodota and Cumian inscriptions.

[41a] The epitaph of David, bishop of Benevento, of 796, reproduced by Silvagni, IV, fasc. 11, pl. 1, is, however, in beautiful classical lettering. The development of the native style may therefore have been later.

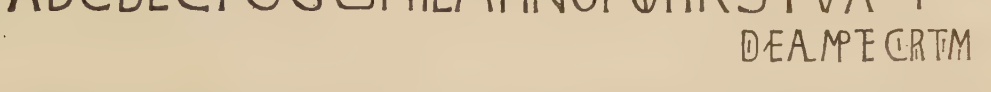
The front of the sarcophagus was perhaps carved like that which is now walled into the cathedral at Calvi, with a medallion-portrait of the prince (Haseloff, pl. 62).

No. Height of letters.

118 *c.* 3·5 cm.

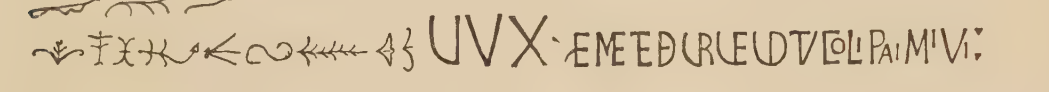
119 4·5 cm.

120 4–4·5 cm.



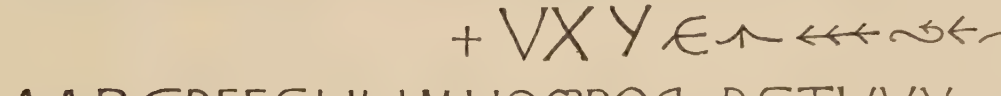
121

122

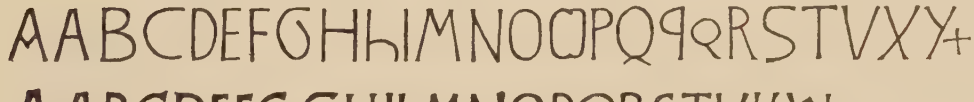


123 3–3·5 cm.

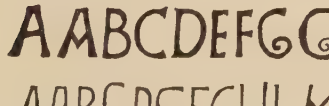
3–4 cm.



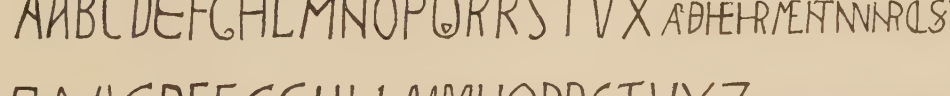
124 3–4 cm.



8·5 cm.

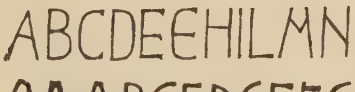


125 2·5–3·5 cm.



126 3–4·5 cm.

127 *c.* 2·7 cm.



No. Height of letters.

128 *c.* 7 cm. ACEEMNOPRSTV

No. 118 *c.* 832

+ PRINCIPIS HIC MAGNI REQVIESCVNT MEMBRA SICONIS
FLENDA NIMIS POPVLIS HEV BENEVENTE TVIS *etc.*

Benevento; built into the façade of the cathedral. Epitaph in verse of Sico recording his North Lombard origin, how he was well received by Arichis (II) and brought up as his son to be his successor, and favoured also by Grimoald (III). He was ruler for fifteen years and died at the age of sixty. The complete text is given in *Poet. Lat.* It is accurate except for expanded abbreviations and inserted punctuation and the following errors: l. 1 should begin +; l. 13 *arcana* should be *archana;* l. 14 *collocat* should be *coilocat;* l. 25 *radicitus* should be *radictus;* l. 28 *fluens* should be *cluens;* l. 37 *solvebat* should be *solvevat;* l. 40 *falsidicosve* should be *falsidicosque.*

G. C. Capaccio, *Neapolitanae Historiae*, 1607, I, 142; Pellegrino, 311; Pellegrino–Pratilli, III, 309; Di Meo, III, 359; *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.*, II, 649; Silvagni, IV, fasc. 11, pl. II, 1.

Sico became duke of Benevento about 817 after the deposition of Grimoald IV by his nobles. The reconciliation of the dates of the death of Sico given by the various chronicles and lists of princes is discussed by Di Meo. His choice of 832 is generally accepted.

The only abbreviations are enclitic *que*, *sps* for *spiritus*, and *DNI* and *SCS*, these last with a triangular stop between each letter at the top. The R is a very typical letter-form.

No. 119 *c.* 850

+ URSUS HIC RECUBAT TOTO CELEBERRIMUS ORBE: CUJUS
HOC MARMOR CANDIDA MEMBRA TEGIT: *etc.*

Benevento; walled into the façade of the cathedral. Epitaph in verse of Ursus, son of Radelchis, who died at the age of thirty. The complete text is given in *Poet. Lat.* and is correct except for expanded abbreviations and inserted punctuation, and the following points: l. 1 should begin with a cross; l. 11 *aemulos* should be *emulos;* l. 16 *aequus* should be *equus;* l. 30 *Abrahæ* should be *Abrahe;* l. 35 *Sæculum* should be *seculum.*

Pellegrino, 313; Pellegrino-Pratilli, III, 315; Di Meo, IV, 121; *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.*, II, 661; Silvagni, IV, fasc. II, 3.

Ursus is mentioned by Erchempert (*Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, 16) as accompanying his father Radelchis I in the campaign of 843 near Bari. Di Meo gives 849 as the latest possible year for his death. The only relevant fact seems to be the death of his father (probably 851, *v.* no. 120) whom he clearly did not survive; the margin is therefore 843–851. His brother Radelgarius, who actually succeeded their father, was born in 822 or 823, so it seems probable that Ursus was born nearer 821 than 813 (*i.e.*, died nearer 851 than 843). There were twelve sons. (*v.* no. 122.)

Abbreviations are rare.

No. 120 *c.* 851

RADELCHIS PRINCEPS MONUMENTO CLAVDITVR ISTO:
CVIVS IN ORBE PIVS RVMOR VBIQVE SONAT *etc.*

Benevento; built into the façade of the cathedral. Epitaph of Radelchis. He was prince of the Lombards for just over eleven years and died at the age of sixty. The complete text is given in *Poetae Latinae* and is correct apart from the expanded abbreviations and inserted punctuation and for the following error: l. 19 *publica* should be *puplica.*

Pellegrino, 312; Pellegrino-Pratilli, III, 311; Di Meo, IV, 131; *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.*, II, 657.

Radelchis I is recorded by the chroniclers as the successor of Sicard the son of Sico. He was previously treasurer; his succession was contested by Siconulf, supported by the Salernitans. A settlement was finally reached, by which the principalities of Benevento and Salerno were divided. Radelchis retained Benevento. That Radelchis reigned for over eleven years is a point on which almost all the sources agree. The year of his election was probably 839, possibly 840. His death, therefore, probably occurred in 851. The evidence is fully discussed by Di Meo.

The only abbreviations are the dropping of the m of Bardorum, and *DNS.* This is epigraphically the most elaborate of the Beneventan inscriptions, including uncial N as well as M, H, Q and U. The A with a curved leg is unique in the period.

No. 121 854

+ QUISQUIS AD HunC TUMULU PROPERAS CONCIVIS ET
HOSPES HIC PRECOR HUMATO DIC MISERERE DEUS *etc.*

Benevento; built into the façade of the cathedral. Epitaph of Radelgarius prince of Benevento. He died at the age of thirty-one after a reign of four years. The complete text is given in *Poetae Latinae* and is accurate except for expanded abbreviations, inserted punctuation and the following errors: l. 1 should begin with +; there is a hole in the stone between *adh . . . c.* Di Meo and Pratilli interpret this *ad hunc* instead of *adhuc* of Peregrinus; l. 3 *Radelcarius* should be *Radelgarius;* l. 4 *heros* should be *haeros;* l. 25 *sedavit* should be *Saedavit.*

Pellegrino, 312; Pellegrino-Pratilli, III, 313; Di Meo, IV, 138; *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.*, II, 659; Silvagni, IV, fasc. II, pl. II, 3.

Erchempert records that Radelgarius succeeded his father Radelchis I. This epitaph (l. 25) is the only evidence for his fighting with the Franks. The date of his death is established with reasonable certainty; though some historians have been misled by Pellegrinus' reading of *binis* for *bis binis* (l. 29) for the years of his reign. It seems very probable that he reigned four years (the period given by the epitaph and the chronicle of S. Sofia), including the time when he was associated with his father, and three and a half years alone (the period given by the Anonymous of Salerno). Radelchis died *c.* 851, Radelgarius therefore in 854. Di Meo prefers 853.

Abbreviations are rare; diphthong *ae* less usual than in the other Beneventan inscriptions. Square C is used as in the epitaph of Radelchis. The letters are wide, particularly the uncial letters and Q, which are conspicuous. This is perhaps the best of the Beneventan inscriptions.

No. 122 *c.* 870

+ QUAM VELOX FUGIAT MUNDANAE GLORIA VITAE
TESTANTUR CINERES QUOS MONUMENTA TENENT *etc.*

Benevento; built into the façade of the cathedral. Epitaph of Caretruda, wife of Radelchis. She had twelve sons, some of whom were counts, one a bishop. She died at the age of seventy. The complete text is given in *Poetae Latinae*. It is correct except for expanded abbreviations, inserted punctuation and the following errors: l. 1 should begin with +; l. 18 *tegmen* should be *regmen;* l. 29 *coeli* should be *cæli*.

Pellegrino, 312; Pellegrino-Pratilli, III, 312; Di Meo, IV, 133; *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.*, II, 658; Silvagni, IV, fasc. II, pl. II, 2.

This princess is mentioned by name in her husband's donation of 845 (*Chron. S. Sophiæ*, III. *c.* 16). Di Meo asserts that Aio son of Radelchis did not become bishop till 870, and that Caretruda must therefore have died after this date. He does not give his authority. Her son Radelgarius was born in 823 or 822 (*v.* his epitaph) and he was probably younger than Ursus (no. 119). This suggests a similar date; that Caretruda was probably born about 800, and not later than 805, and that she died before 875.

The only abbreviations are *q* for enclitic *que*. This is the only Beneventan inscription which shows the bulge in the line of the O, a characteristic of the later South Italian inscriptions. The small Q is also peculiar among Beneventan inscriptions; it is indeed a form found only in 'popular' inscriptions.

No. 123 834

+ BARDORUM BELLA INVIDA HINC INDE VETUSTA AD
LACRIMAS COGIT SAEPE TUOS
ORTUS ET OCCASUS NORIT QUO SICO REGNAVIT SUADENDO
POPULOS MUNERA MULTA DABAT *etc.*

Naples; in S. Restituta. Epitaph of Bonus, *consul* and *dux*. He was duke for one year and a half only, during the reign of Sico, and conducted the war with the Lombards, in which time he destroyed their forts at Acerra and Atella and burnt Forchia and reached the territory of Sarno, winning victory for Naples. He died at the age of forty-seven. The complete text is given by Capasso. There are the following errors: l. 1 should begin with +; l. 4 *ut vereor* should be *ut reor;* l. 5 *aedificasse* should be *edificasse; castellos* should be *castellis; Acerrae Atellae* should be *Acerre Atelle;* l. 6 *laetus depraedans . . . urbem* should be *letus depredans . . . urbe;* l. 9 *pectora . . . pectore;* l. 10 *cedit . . . cadit;* l. 11 *tantum . . . tantus;* l. 12 *ehu . . . lacrymas potiuntur clamitat . . . paxque* should be *eheu lacrimas patiuntur clamitant paxq;* l. 13 *Diversi . . . et etas funere* should be *dibersi . . . et hetas funera;* l. 15 *Praecipva . . . domini* should be *precipua dni*.

Capaccio, *Neapolitanae Historiae,* 1771, I, 122; Pellegrino-Pratilli, III, 335; Di Meo, III, 369; B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani Ducatus Historiam pertinentia,* 1892, II, pt. II, 220, pl. XIII; Grossi-Gondi, no. 23; Silvagni, IV, fasc. I, pl. X, 3.

Until recently the epitaph was in the church of S. Maria a Piazza. Sometime between the writing of Capasso and Grossi-Gondi it was moved to S. Restituta. According to the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum,* the reputation of Bonus was of the worst. He murdered the previous consul Stephen, blinded or exiled his confederates, and then imprisoned the bishop Tiberius '*tenebroso carcere et execrabili fame affligeret.*' It is, however, tacitly admitted that he got rid of Sico. According to earlier readings the inscription ends '*per indictionem duodecimam*'. These last words are now completely illegible, but the year thus determined, 834, agrees with the chronology of the times.

The inscription is surrounded by a border similar in design to those of the Lombard inscriptions of a century earlier. The epigraphy, however, has little Lombard connection, except possibly in the exaggerated curl of the G. The letter-forms are nearest to the Beneventan style but round and regular and competent. The wide, more or less even line has perhaps some affinity with the popular style II, as exemplified at Anagni, nos. 92–94. The horseshoe pattern at the end of the lines is peculiar. There are no abbreviations except the enclitic *que* and *dni*; *ae* is often written *e*. There are no ligatures.

No. 124 842–872, *probably nearer* 842

+ MIHI AUTEM NIMIS HONORATI SUNT AMICI TUI DS NIMIS CONFORTATVS EST PRINCIPATUS EORUM DINUMERABO EOS ET SUPER ARENA MULTIPLICABUNTUR (Ps. 138) *etc.*

Naples; in the chapel of the Archbishop's palace. A calendar; except for the words quoted (alphabet A), the inscription consists entirely of dates and the names of saints (alphabets B and C). Complete text reproduced by Silvagni.

A. S. Mazzochi, *In vetus Marmoreum sanctae Neapolitanae Ecclesiae Kalendarium,* 1744; Marini-Mai, 58.2; Cabrol et Leclercq, II, 1585; Bertaux, 77; Grossi-Gondi, no. 53; B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani Ducatus Historiam pertinentia,* I, 335; A. Ehrhard, 'Der Marmorkalender in Neapel,' *Riv. Arch. Crist.,* 1934; Silvagni, IV, fasc. I, pl. I–VI showing the complete text (other texts introduce errors); H. Delehaye in *Analecta Bollandiana* LVII, 1939.

Mazzochi (p. xv) records how the calendar used to be walled into the church of S. Giovanni Maggiore, a section on either side of the door, but with the inscription turned face to the wall, so that its existence was unknown and the sculptured side alone visible. In 1742 the stones were taken down, the inscription discovered and the marbles erected in the chapel of the archbishop's palace. In 1742 there was no tradition of the original erection. Part of the sculptured back is also now visible on the wall of the chapel; though according to Mazzochi's engraving the calendar and the sculpture exactly correspond in size.

According to Ehrhard this calendar is based on the Byzantine calendar, though on an earlier form than any known example, since the earliest includes VIII century saints, whereas the latest oriental saint commemorated in this Neapolitan calendar is Patriarch Paul III of Constantinople (688–694). It also includes eighty-three feasts of western saints not normally included in the Byzantine calendar and begins in January according

to the western practice, instead of September. He concludes that the calendar is not, as Achelis argues, a monumental protest against Latin influence in Naples, but on the contrary the first adaptation of the Byzantine calendar of Naples to the Latin one of Rome. Delehaye asserts that it is not a liturgical document at all but simply a call to devotion to the saints, a list of those ordinarily venerated in Naples supplemented by others from the Byzantine calendar.

All the bishops of Naples are commemorated in the calendar down to Paul III (*c.* 800–821). It also includes S. Methodius (*d.* 847), but not bishop Athanasius (841–872). It seems probable, therefore, that it was made in his reign.

The back of the calendar is carved with a fine frieze of griffins and winged lions and horses in comparatively high relief. Bertaux assumed these carvings to be contemporary with the inscription, and the architrave of an iconostasis. He compares the carving of the little columns on the calendar and the foliage of the frieze. But the columns are quite flat while the foliage and beasts are swelling with vigour; no carving which can convincingly be attributed to the IX century has such a sense of rotundity. A more natural explanation is that at some period the Neapolitan calendar was again reformed; the marble record became obsolete or quite probably obnoxious. It was therefore placed face to the wall and fine new sculptures ordered to deface its memory.

The inscription is clearly the work of three different hands. The heading (A) which runs along the top of the first part is in the compressed angular style of Capuan inscriptions, cf. Plate XXIII, 1, no. 130. The uncial E is far narrower than those at Benevento and its curves are very square; the M is similar to that in no. 129. The style is possibly nearest to no. 128. The actual calendar (B and C) is cut by masons with slightly different idiosyncrasies in various letter-forms, but in the same tradition. That tradition is obviously transitional; various alternative forms are used and there is a general sense of vacillation and insecurity. It is perhaps nearest to VIII century Rome, particularly in the use of N with so short a diagonal that it is mistaken for H (as on no. 15). Misreadings have also been caused by the A with an open apex resembling either H or M, and a tendency to inscribe E for F. The uncial E and H, and the G with a curved terminal suggest Beneventan influence. The abbreviations—as might be expected—are very numerous but inconsistent. Ligatures are also numerous. *Valentinus* is spelt *Balentinus*.

No. 125 (Plate XXI, 2) *probably c.* 850

. . . ET SIST GRADU LECTOR MENTE RECONDE
. . . IN HOC TVMVLO ⁝· CORPU SEPVLTVM IACET
. . . BARDORVM MAGNO DE GENERE HORTUS
. . . INE DICTUS POTO ·⁝· CORPoRE CORDE SAGAX
. . . T VT IVVENISQ QVINTI · LVSTRVM P̄CVRRENS
. . . VIA FVR VITAE ⁝· NVLLI FARCEA ESCIT
. . . S VENIENS VIDUAE HVNC ABSTULIT MATRI
. . . V ATERNA DIE ⁝· STANTE A PRELIS TVA ·⁝·
. . . FR · S · TRISTIS . . .

Unpublished.[42]

[42] In 1938, when this paper was written. This statement applies also to other inscriptions noted below as unpublished.

Capua; in the Museo Campano. Epitaph of a young Lombard noble. Only the top right section of the inscription remains, and this is broken in two. The inscription is very worn. The letters are irregular, small and wide compared with the other Capuan inscriptions. It lacks any of the distinctive letter-forms except square C. It lacks also the distinctive Beneventan letter-forms and uncial forms (except E). In the proportions of the letters, indeterminacy of style, and to a considerable extent in the repertory of forms, it is akin to no. 124. The ornament might be a combination of a poor imitation of the border to Bonus' epitaph (no. 123) and the Beneventan flourishes (the squeeze reproduced does not show the first letter or two of every line).

No. 126 (Plate XXI, 1a and b) *probably beginning of IX century*

+ LEO · TERTIUS
EPISCOPUS · FECIT

Cimitile, near Nola; in basilica of SS. Martiri, along the top of two capitals which flank the entrance to a chapel.

G. Remondini, *Della Nolana Ecclesiastica storia*, I, 1747, 478; Ughelli-Coleti, VI, 254; Rohault de Fleury, III, 173, I, pl. LVII; Cattaneo, 84; M. T. Tozzi, 'Di Alcune Sculture medioevali della Campania,' *Boll. d'Arte*, 1931, 275.

Though Rohault de Fleury mentions the possibility that Pope Leo III (795–816) is the Leo of this inscription, the tradition of the local histories that the churches of Cimitile were restored and embellished by bishops Leo and Lupenus has led to a general identification of this Leo with bishop Leo III of Nola. Ughelli places him after bishop Aurelius who attended the Council of 679 in Rome. Cappelletti (*Le chiese d'Italia*, XIX, 584) quotes a MS. which gives his date as *c.* 700. Debelius (in an unpublished MS. kindly lent me by Professor Haseloff) quotes an MS. of about 1600 (no. 230 in the library of Oratorians in Naples) which gives three lists of the bishops of Nola, in one of which he is listed before and in two after bishop Lupenus (*v.* nos. 127 and 128).

Debelius considers the letter-forms to be classical and the date therefore after the Carolingian conquest, some time in the IX century. The inscription is very difficult to date epigraphically. No dated VIII century South Italian inscriptions survive with which to compare it, and it is clearly not closely related to any of the other schools of that century. The remarkable letters are R and V. The nearest R is that in no. 106 (*v.* p. 106). The V is characteristic of VIII century Roman inscriptions, and occurs also in Pavian alphabets. The most important feature of the inscription is, however, the sculpture. This, in its neatness and regularity and its motives of vine leaves, closely recalls that of Pavia and has led to the general adoption of the date 700 by art historians. This, however, is earlier than the Pavian style itself (*v.* conclusions, p. 155). It must be remembered too that the epitaph of Bonus at Naples also has a pattern very similar to those at Pavia and can be dated 834. I should be inclined to date this inscription to the beginning of the IX century. This is confirmed by a general comparison of the lettering with the Neapolitan Calendar. C, O, S and T are very similar.

No. 127 *first half IX century*

HOC OPUS LUPENUS EPS RENO . . .

Cimitile, near Nola; S. Felice in the lower church, along the bottom of a triangular relief.

G. S. Remondini, *Della Nolana Ecclesiastica storia*, III, 1757, 95, I, 522; Rohault de Fleury, III, 171; Marini-Mai, 130, from Holstenius; Cappelletti, XIX, 586; M. T. Tozzi, 'Di Alcune Sculture medioevali della Campania,' *Boll d'Arte*, 1931, 505 (reproduction).

The fragment is carved with a very flat relief of the tails of one large and two small fishes. It is clearly the lower part of a relief of Jonah and the whale and the shape suggests that it is part of the balustrade of an ambone, an early example of the common South Italian Romanesque type. Remondini, the XVIII century antiquarian who has described the church, records this inscription among various fragments of sculpture and inscriptions associated with Lupenus, already broken and dismantled. The date of Lupenus is disputed. Ughelli puts him after Leo I who succeeded in 535. Gams puts him in 786. Remondini (I, 519) records that, according to several MS. in the library of the Oratorians at Naples, an inscription of Lupenus once existed dated 800. Two of the MS. lists in the same library quoted by Debelius give the same date for Lupenus.

This inscription is unlike the other which records the name of Lupenus, no. 128. The contrast may be compared with that between the styles of A, and B and C,on the calendar (no. 124); indeed in so far as can be judged from so small a fragment this inscription seems to be very like the calendar (B and C). The date 800 connected with Lupenus is therefore possible; but it might be as late as 850.

No. 128 (Plate XXI, 3) *probably c.* 875

. . . PENUS EPISCOPUS COMP . . .
. . . SIT ET ORNAVIT . . .

Cimitile, near Nola; S. Felice. Record of the work of Bishop Lupenus.

Marini-Mai, 129; Grossi-Gondi, no. 4. Grossi-Gondi gives the rest of the text, now lost.

The inscription is formal and competent. The connection with the South Italian inscriptions of the late IX century is clear. The proportions, regularity and angularity are the same, quite different from the epigraphy of the epitaph of Bonus or the Neapolitan Calendar. The bulge in the line of the O and C is also an unmistakable characteristic of the later school. It is, however, top and bottom of the O, as in no. 122 (*c.* 875), not at the sides, as in the X century examples. I should therefore date it about 875. If this is the same Lupenus as no. 127 it must, I think, be assumed that his reign was long. The flourish is peculiar.

X. SOUTH ITALIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE LATE IX AND X CENTURIES

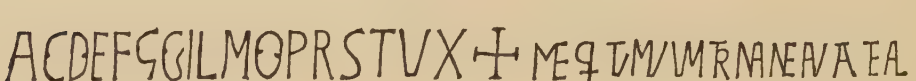
After the middle of the IX century the style of South Italian epigraphy is unmistakable. The letters are compressed and angular with flattened bowls to all the curved letters, and frequent square C and G. Two unique characteristics are the practice

of thickening the middle of curves with a sort of bulge—apparently derived from manuscripts—and the curious G with a double curve. Other typical forms are square topped A, R with the leg straightened almost into a vertical, V with a square base. The Q is invariably inverted P or with the tail inside.

Unfortunately only one of this group of ten inscriptions is securely dated, that of Pandulf the Iron-Headed (no. 133), which though the margin of his reign is large—959–981—gives some X century date. It is, however, possible to work out an order by comparing the stylistic changes with the fixed points given by this, by the calendar no. 124, and by the Beneventan school. Certain Beneventan characteristics seem gradually to disappear, uncial E is found in no. 124 A and B and in nos. 125, 130. G with the terminal curving inward is found in nos. 123, 124, 125, 130, the calendar and nos. 132, 133. No. 132 combines this G with one with the spur below, and no. 137 this second G with the characteristic G with a double curve. Again, the bulge top and bottom of the curve is found in the epitaph of Caretruda, no. 122, and in no. 128, but all the other inscriptions have it on the vertical curves. Uncial U of the Beneventan style occurs in nos. 129 and 130 (inverted), and half straightened out in 132. Uncial M occurs only in no. 130 and H only in nos. 124 and 132. N with a very short diagonal, which is a Beneventan form and a marked characteristic of the calendar (no. 124), occurs in nos. 127, 128, 132. All these forms seem to denote an early date, possibly before 900. On the other hand, certain new characteristics appear. We have noticed the double curved G (in nos. 133, 134, 135, 136), the square G occurs in nos. 137 and 138, and square C in nos. 125, 128, 133, 135, 138. I have arranged the inscriptions, therefore, according to this analysis. The result shows a development from the uncertain period of the calendar, no. 124, and Bonus, no. 123, contemporary with the Beneventan epitaphs, through a sensitive and rather elaborate style represented by nos. 129, 132, 130 to the coarse magnificence of the inscriptions of Pandulf, no. 133, and Audoalt, no. 134, till it finally sinks to the arid decadence of the nos. 135–138. This agrees with the probable identification of Audoalt and Sichenolf (no. 138).

Except for the calendar, abbreviations are very rare. Most of the inscriptions are unfortunately too fragmentary for it to be possible to judge much from the text. The date is also often missing or fragmentary. The indiction and the day of the month (in ordinary reckoning) appear to be the common form. The inscriptions seem mostly to have been executed for the local nobility—predominantly secular. Except for that of Pandulf all are epitaphs.

No.	Height of letters.	
129	*c.* 7 cm.	
130	6 cm.	

No.	Height of letters.	
131	6·5 cm.	
132	*c.* 7 cm.	
133		
134	9–12 cm.	
135	6–7 cm.	
136	*c.* 5 cm.	
137	5–6 cm.	
138	5–6 cm.	

No. 129 *probably* 870–900

QUISQUIS AMICVS ADEST CVPIENS DI NOSCERE CVIVS
MARMORE SVB NITIDO MEMBRA SOPITA IACENT: *etc.*

Naples; in the Museum of S. Martino. Epitaph of Arniperga, wife of Count Pando.

Silvagni, IV, fasc. I, pl. IX, 3, where the complete text is legible.

There is no record of the provenance of this inscription. The collection in the Museum of S. Martino has been drawn from a large area, including S. Maria Capua

Vetere. A Pando *marpahis*, son of Landolf (d. 843) count of Capua (*Chronicon Vulturnense*; Muratori, *Rer. Script. Ital.*, I, pt. II, 392), and a Pando, son of Landolf (d. before 862) *marpahis* of Salerno are recorded. I have found no Arniperga except the wife of Radelchis II.

The inscription is remarkable in having only two abbreviations: *sps* for *spiritus*, and *unu* for *unum*. The ligatures are, however, very frequent. The lettering is regular and well done—equal to those at Benevento. The M with sloping legs projecting at the top is characteristic also of the lettering of the calendar. It occurs elsewhere only in no. 162 at Lucca. The general style and forms used are very similar to the Beneventan school, but the proportions are more compressed. I should date it some time between 870 and 900.

No. 130 (Plate XXIII, 1) *probably second half of IX century*

STRENVVS HIC PULCER RECUBANS SUB TECMINE . . .
EXTITIT ET SOLLERS · MEMBRA SOPITA GER
ALLOQUIO DULCIS BONECHIS DE NOMINE DIC
MORS INIMICA VENIT · . . . STRA PO . . .
SEXAGENOS ANNOS · . . . T FVNERA VI . . .
ME QVONDAM FAMULVM · CREDO VIDERE $\overline{DM}$

Capua; one of the treads of the staircase of the Palazzo Torino. Epitaph of Bonechis(?). Unpublished.

The stone is much worn in the middle and hard to read, and the third line, which includes the name, is particularly difficult to disentangle. The lettering must originally have been quite firm and dignified. The verse seems to be in imitation of the Beneventan epitaphs. The lettering is similar to that of the epitaph of Arniperga, except that there are no ligatures apparent. G, uncial M, and R are typical Beneventan forms. This is clearly an early example of the Capuan school. In the very similar fragment, no. 131, possibly from the same hand, C with a bulge occurs.

No. 131 *second half of IX century*

. . . IC REQUIES . . .
. . . SSO INFANS . . .
. . . ENSE SU . . .

Capua; in the Museo Campano. Fragment of the epitaph of an infant? Unpublished.

The lettering is delicate, very similar to the inscription of no. 133, particularly in the curious N; it is probably by the same hand and to be dated, therefore, to the second half of the IX century. It is much rubbed.

No. 132 *probably c.* 900

. . . .R HIC SADĪPTUS HUMATUR QUĪĒ . . .
. . . PARA VITET ISTUM · TEGMIN . . .
. . . SSIME PETRE · UT SUA LAXEN . . .
. . . SIC DICIT FRATRES · PARCE D . . .

Capua; in the Museo Campano. Fragmentary epitaph of Sadipertus. Unpublished.

I have found no other instance of this name. The lettering is delicate. The early characterisation of uncial H and N with a short diagonal, found both at Benevento and in the calendar, appears; also the typical Beneventan R. The letters are, however, very regular and compressed and definitely express a different style, far more mannered than that of Benevento. The G is similar to the plain G in the Pandulf inscription; neither the wavy G nor any square letters occur. It seems, however, more developed than the inscriptions of Bonechis and Arniperga. The flourishes are curious and peculiar.

No. 133 959–981

+ HANC QUONDAM TERRAM VASTAVIT GENS AGARENA
SCANDENS HUNC FLUVIUM · FIERI NE POSTEA POSSIT
PRINCEPS HANC TURRIM PANDOLFVS CONDIDIT HEROS
UT SIT STRUCTORI DECUS ET MEMORABILE NOMEN

Near Minturno; built into the Torre Pandulfo at the mouth of the river Garigliano. The tower was destroyed in 1943 by the Germans. Too high to measure; very roughly 180 cm. wide × 60 cm. high. The letters are very large.

G. C. Capaccio, *Hist. Neapolitanae Libri*, 1771, I, 10; E. Gattula, *Historia Abbatiae Cassinensis*, I, 1733, 97; Muratori, *Thes.*, mmxiii, 5; O. Rinaldo, *Memorie Istoriche della città di Capua*, 1752, II, 11; Marini-Mai, 329.3; P. Fedele, 'La battaglia del Garigliano,' *Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Pat.*, 1899, 210.

The earliest publications all connect this tower and its inscription with the battle of the Garigliano in 915 when Pope John VIII, Atenolf and Landulf of Capua and Byzantine troops defeated and expelled the Saracen colony which had established itself at the mouth of the Garigliano. The inscription, however, has 'Pandulf' not Landulf or Atenolf; Pandulf I, the Iron-Headed, ruled from 943 with his father Landulf II, after whose death he continued in power until 981. The tower is, therefore, probably his work.

The lettering is rather the same as that of Audoalt, though not so mannered. The second G, a cross between the earlier G as in no. 125 and no. 129 and the later G of no. 134, 135, 136 is peculiar. There is no other example of B with separated bowls in South Italy, though it occurs in no. 159 of 979 at Verona and R in no. 132.

No. 134 (Plate XXIV, 5) *c.* 980?

+ ROGO VOS OMES Q LEGITE TVMVLVM ISTUM ROGATE DEVM PRO AUDOALT
ILLVSTRIS Q FVIT NATVS EX GENERE DE AVDOALT PRIMVS COMES CAPUE

Capua; used as the architrave to the door of S. Marcello. Epitaph of Audoalt.

O. Rinaldo, *Memorie istoriche della cittá di Capua*, 1753, I, 360; H. W. Schultz, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, 1860, II, 165; Bertaux, 474.

Bertaux writes *'les vers . . . forment l'epitaph d'un seigneur nommé Audoalt, qui descendait du comte de Capoue Audoalt on Aloara, mort en* 992. Two Aloaras are known, both women; one, the wife of a Landulf or Lando, died in the mid-IX century, the other, the wife of Pandulf I, in 992. There seems, however, no reason to connect Audoalt and Aloara. There are no recorded Audoalts among the counts of Capua, who begin with Landolf in 820 and continue until the title changed to prince; but there were in the principality of Capua counts of other cities or without territorial title. A document of 971 given in Capua mentions a count Audoald, and one of 1032 a count Audoald of Atina (Poupardin, *Les Institutions des Principautés Lombardes de l'Italie méridionale*, 112 and 130) Audoalts occur in other documents noted by Poupardin: in 966 two Audoalds, one a gastald and both cousins of Landolf III of Capua: in 878 at Benevento in a grant for S. Vincenzo al Volturno, count Audoalt, cousin of Adelchis of Benevento (and Capua); in 1028 count Audoalt, cousin of Landolf V of Benevento; and in 1038 (document suspicious) another count Audoald, these two definitely not connected with Capua.[42a]

The inscription is bold, handsome and coarse. It includes the typical late Capuan G and the bulges in the sides. Like the inscription of Pandulf it has two forms of G. It is indeed reasonable to consider the two contemporary, both earlier than the very inferior inscription of Adenolf, no. 137 (probably *c.* 989). The documents of 966 and 971 are, therefore, very possibly other records of the same Audoalt.

No. 135 *late X century*

. . . VIX . . .
. . . PRIMUS HANC VESTES E . . .
. . . NNOS DUO DE SEXAGINTA
. . . DIE DECIMA IN . . . EN

Capua; in the Museo Campano. Fragment of an epitaph. Unpublished.

The cutting is heavy and indefinite. The forms of O, G and C are characteristic of the late, but not the latest, Capuan style. I should consider it contemporary, or possibly rather later than the inscriptions of Audoalt and Pandulf, about 970–980.

[42a] I am indebted to Miss E. M. Jamison for kindly searching for references to Audoalt.

No. 136 *late X century*

. . . EX PRECLARO GER . . .
. . . SAPIENS ET VELOX . . .
. . . VIXIT AV̄ ANNIS QUADRAG . . .
. . . OBIIT AV̄ OCTABO DIE STAN . . .

Capua; in the Museo Campano. Fragment of an epitaph. Unpublished.
The lettering is very similar to that of no. 135 and may be dated to the same period.

No. 137 *c.* 989

. . . T ADENOLFI ME
. . . SIT SI D : UBIQ : CA . . .
. . . TUS SAPIENS ET PULC . . .
. . . E VIGEBAT ILLIUS UT C . . .
. . . RO PRIORE FEREBAT SEM . . .
. . . XISSET ET ANNOS CE . . .
. . . PRIAM RETULIT SPO . . .
. . . E POSCITE FRATRES IUT . . .

Capua; in the Museo Campano. Epitaph of Adenolf. Unpublished.
Though the forms of the letters are very similar they are definitely inferior in execution to those of no. 138. It seems probable that this is the epitaph of Adenolf, archbishop of Capua, *c.* 989. The colon used as a sign of abbreviation is remarkable.

No. 138 *c.* 990

LEO MITIS RECUBAT SICHENOLFI C . . .
NATUS ERAT PARITER HIC FUIT AST . . .
OGNITIS CARUS · CRISTICOLI . . .
TRIS · ANNISQUE DUO . . .
. . . TULIT VOS ROGO QUI
. . . M ILLUIS . . . T SOL . . .

Capua; in the Museo Campano, Epitaph of Sichenolf. Unpublished.
The lettering is so similar to that of the epitaph of Adenolf that it might well be the same hand. Though rubbed and cracked now the inscription is quite well cut, slightly better than that of Adenolf. The possible identifications of this Siconolf are: Siconolf Prince of Salerno, the opponent of Radelchis (d. 851)—but it seems unlikely that his epitaph should be in Capua; Siconolf *gastald* of Avellino in the reign of Radelchis (*chron. Salernit.*, cap. 149, p. 546); and Siconolf, follower of Landolf IV (Poupardin, 116), cited in

a document of 981. The last seems compatible with the identification of Adenolf as the archbishop of Capua (*c.* 989). The two inscriptions seem to exhibit a final phase in the Capuan style. Here it is all angularity and compression. Instead of the typical wavy G it is square, as is C. Even the bulges in the lines are almost abandoned. The dates suggested by the documents, therefore, fall in very well with the suggested stylistic development of the school. The square C and G are common also in North Italian inscriptions of the X century.

XI. ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE X CENTURY

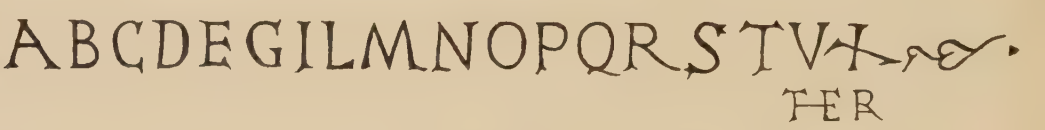
The X century opens with the inscriptions of Theodora, nos. 139, 140 (Plate XXIV, 4), the most personal products of our period. But though these show originality they also imply a close connection with the style of Demetrius (Plate XIX, 3), nos. 86 and 87, such freedom of invention and execution could only come out of a confident and classical tradition. If the style of Demetrius represents that of the Roman aristocracy (*v.* conclusions, p. 159) this was, of course, Theodora's natural background. It is this supposition which leads me to prefer 928–929 as a date for no. 142 (Plate XIX, 2), which would imply that the Demetrian classical style was still current in the X century. There is no direct evidence for this, no other Roman inscriptions survive which are dated to the period between 902 (no. 141) and 963 (no. 143). The style which appears already formed in no. 143 is, however, a natural development from the Demetrian style, akin in the scale and proportions of the letters and sense of generosity. In another modified form the classical tradition was in any case current throughout the century. The letter-forms of no. 141 (902) are mainly classical and so are the proportions, but the inscription is rather thin and the scale is very small and the number both of ligatures and abbreviations is great. The inscribed vow of 984 in SS. Cosma e Damiano (no. 148), is very similar in the letter-forms and ligatures, though it is on a more ordinary scale; and the epitaph of Crescentius (984, no. 150) is a weaker example of the same taste. In all, abbreviations are common and the abbreviation of final and medial M, enclitic Q and the syllables *per* and *pro* are characteristic. This style is not unlike that practised in North Italy (nos. 71, 72, 155, 157), which continues in a debased form in the XI century and forms an undercurrent in strong contrast to the concurrent clearly differentiated local North Italian and Roman styles.

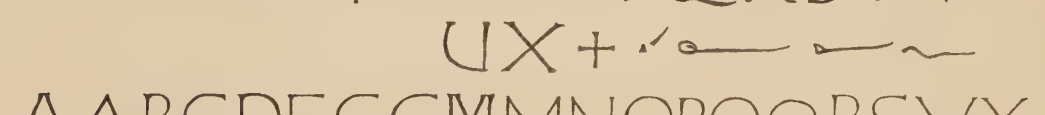
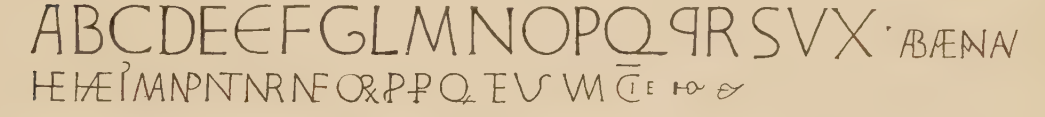
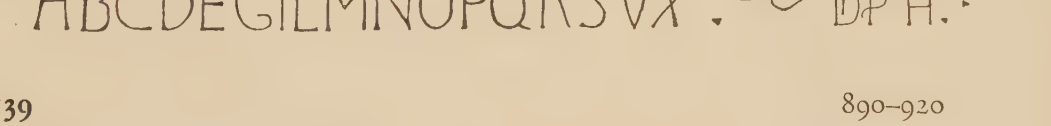
No. 143 is typical of the Roman style, which first appears in the second half of the century (Plate XXII, 1). It is an inscription put up by Marozia, daughter of Theodora; there are seven other inscriptions (nos. 144–147, 151–153) in the same taste, epigraphically remarkably coherent, and commissioned by people of importance with close political and cultural relations (*v.* conclusions, p. 160). The basis of the style is classical, and this is emphasised by the practice of dating in the Roman style. The inscriptions are all dated and fall between 963 and 999; the epitaph of Sergius IV (d. 1013, Diehl pl. 42) is still in the same style. Certain non-classical letters, however, occur, notably G with a curl, uncial D, and A with a broken crossbar. Very typical are the A with a sharply pointed apex, and M with a short drop, splayed legs and pointed apices—these are both very rare forms in our period—and the very wide, rather square C, D and O. The general disposition of the letters is far too individual to be altogether classical. The cutting is always shallow,

the spacing of the letters very wide, and the flourishes are apt to be floating and transitory; there is something unquestionably humanistic in its openness, clarity and largeness.

We have in these inscriptions a school which rivals even the Pavian style in distinctiveness and civilisation. As an epigraphical style it is far more advanced than the Roman style of the early IX century which, were it not for its connection with the contemporary mosaics, would hardly, from the examples which survive, be distinguishable. This X century epigraphy is paralleled in contemporary paintings, where inscriptions of very similar style—with the same wide letters and the same characteristic forms of M and G occur, as in the frescoes in S. Sebastianello and in the medallion-portraits in the atrium of S. Maria Antiqua. The fine lettering on the ivory of 'Otto Imperator' (Otto II?) in the Trivulzio collection (Haseloff, pl. 76) clearly also belongs to this style.[43]

[43] So probably does the lettering on the Roman sarcophagus which was used as a tomb for Otto II, in the Vatican grottos; but the text is too short and the surface on which it is cut is so rough that it is difficult to be sure.

No.	Height of letters.	
139	3·2–4·5 cm.	
140	4·5–5·5 cm.	
142	4·5–5 cm. and 6·5–7·5 cm. ‡	
143	5 cm.	
144	5–5·8 cm.	
145	4 cm.	
146	3·5–4 cm.	

No.	Height of letters	
147	4·5 cm.	
151	*	
152	3 cm.	
153	3·5 cm.	
141	1·7 cm.	
148	*c.* 3 cm.	
149	*c.* 3 cm.	
150	2 cm.	

No. 139 890–920

in hoc tumulo dormiunt sergia ET BONifacius

germani filii theophiLACTI VESTERARII ET THEODorae *etc.*

Rome; in the temple of Fortuna Virilis. Epitaph of Sergia and Boniface, infant children of Theophilact *vesterarius* and Theodora *vesterarissa*, and the record of a gift of land. The complete text as it exists may be seen in the photograph reproduced by Munoz.

P. Galletti, *Del vesterario della Santa Romana chiesa*, 1757, 46; Muratori, *Thes.*, mcmi; Marini-Mai, 215; P. Fedele, *Arch. R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Pat.*, 1910, 211; Tomassetti, 'Della Campagna Romana,' *Arch. R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Pat.*, V, 144; Grossi-Gondi, no. 62; A. Munoz, *Il Restauro del Tempio di Fortuna Virilis*, 1925, 42, pl. XXIII; G. Marchetti-Longhi, 'S. Maria de Secundicerio,' *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, 1927, 117 (reproduction); Silvagni, I, pl. XXXIX, 4.

The inscription was found in 1743 in the pavement of S. Maria Maggiore; the text as it then existed is recorded by Galletti. When Mai published it, it was in the Rinuccini collection in Florence. In 1925 the present large fragment was discovered in the Temple of Fortuna Virilis with the epitaph of an Armenian priest on the back.

There seems no doubt that these bereaved parents are the Roman nobles Theophilact *gloriosissimus dux et magister militum sacrique palatii vesterarius et domina Theodora serenissima vesteratrix* (according to the description of John of Ravenna in 906 [43a]). The various references to Theophilact are given by Fedele. Theodora had a son who, as a youth, greeted the entry into Rome of Berengar in 915. Their daughter Marozia when she married for the third time in 932 had already more than five children, one of whom was old enough to become pope in 931. The child of their daughter Theodora died as a young man in 963 (no. 154). The date of this inscription may therefore be any time between 890 and 920.

The inscription is a less developed example of the style of no. 152. The ligature THE used in both is remarkable.

No. 140 (Plate XXIV, 4) *c.* 920

. . . RICII CONSTRVXERAT PRISCIS GENITRICISQVE DOMV
. . . DORA RENOBANS THEOPHYLACTI VESTARARI CONIUX

Rome; S. Sabina. Record of restorations by Theodora, wife of Theophylact. On the moulding on the under-side of a stone slab.

A. Munoz, 'S. Sabina sull'Aventino,' *Studi Romani*, II, 1914, 341, fig. 9; G. Schneider Graziosi, 'La "domus Theodorae" sull'Aventino,' *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, 1914, 329; Grossi-Gondi, no. 61; Silvagni, I, pl. XXXIX, 6.

The inscription was discovered in 1914 by A. Munoz in the pavement of S. Sabina, having been used as the sepulchral slab of Antonio Ferracuti (died 1497). The slab seems originally to have been the architrave of a door. It is broken at the beginning.

This Theodora and Theophilact are the same pair as in no. 139. There is no note in the *Liber Pontificalis* of any work of Theodora in S. Sabina, or on the Aventine. Schneider Graziosi suggests that the slab was the porch of their ancestral home.

The inscription is charmingly direct and exuberant with its fantastic serifs. It is clearly an exaggeration of the style of no. 139 and it may be assumed that Theodora employed and encouraged the same mason. This inscription is therefore probably of slightly later date.

No. 141 902

SUME VALENTINE MARTIR HAEC DONA BEATE QUE TIBI FERT
OPIFEX TEV
BALDUS CORDE BENIGNO·HEC ITA Q SUNT QUE TIBI
BEATISSIM *etc.*

Rome; in S. Maria in Cosmedin, in the antiquarium. Record of the gift to the church of S. Valentinus by Teubaldus *opifex* of two houses, a garden with olives and a

[43a] *Neues Archiv.* ix, 514.

vineyard, and various liturgical and theological books and silver liturgical objects. The date of the consecration of the church, November 30th, in the reign of Pope John IX, the 5th indiction, is also recorded. The complete text is given in Giovenale.

Torrigio, 320; G. M. Crescimbene, *L'istoria della Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, 1715, 81; Muratori, *Thes.*, mxmxlvi; Galletti, I, ccccxx, 6; Marini-Mai, 218; Grossi-Gondi, no. 50, pl. XXXV; Giovenale, *La basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, 72; G. Marchetti-Longhi, 'Elephas Herbanus e Curtis Miccinae', *Rend. Acc. Pont.*, 1926, 367; Silvagni, I, pl. XVI, 2.

Torrigio records that this inscription was brought to S. Maria in Cosmedin from the ruined church of S. Valentino in 1625. Previous to the recent restoration it was in the portico. The identity of the church of S. Valentino is obscure. It is discussed by Marchetti Longhi. Torrigio speaks of the church as '*incontro a detta Scola Greca.*'

The inscription has, like nos. 139 and 148, many ligatures and abbreviations, including contractions of the syllables *per*, *pro* and *con*, final and medial M and even N. The lettering is very small and precise. The first four lines are executed by a different hand or tool. Except for the difference in the size of the letters the inscription is not unlike no. 148.

John IX reigned 898–900. The 5th indiction falls in 902. Possibly the church was consecrated in the pontificate of John IX but the gift of Teubaldus not recorded till 902.

No. 142 (Plate XIX, 2) *probably* 928–929

+ LEO $\overline{\text{EPS}}$ SERVUS SERVO$\overline{\text{RU}}$ DEI
OMNIBU$\overline{\text{S}}$ X$\overline{\text{P}}$IANIS NOTITI$\overline{\text{A}}$ CONTE *etc.*

Rome; S. Paolo fuori le Mura, in the Epigraphical Museum. Pronunciation of anathema against anyone destroying, alienating or buying any property given to S. Paolo for the use of the monks, or malevolently intriguing with the rector, by Pope Leo. Engraved on front of a column. The complete text is given by Grisar; the abbreviations are expanded.

P. Sabinus in de Rossi, II, 423; Margarini, *Inscriptiones antiquae basilicae Sancti Pauli ad viam ostiensem*, 1644, xxviii, no. 384; N. M. Nicolai, *Della Basilica di S. Paolo*, 1815, 206; O. Panvinio, *De Praecipuis Urbis Romae*, 1570, 70; Grisar, 183 (and reproduction); C. Baronius, *Martyrologio Romano*, Feb. 18; Marini-Mai, 215; Grossi-Gondi, no. 52, pl. XXXIII; I. Schuster, *La Basilica e il Monastero di S. Paolo*, 1934, 33 (no text); Silvagni, I, pl. XXXVIII, 5.

Nicolai records that the column was one of those originally supporting the central arch of the basilica. There is no indication which Pope Leo this may have been. Grisar suggests that after the Saracen pillage of 846 protection of the property of the impoverished monastery would be particularly suitable, and therefore prefers Leo IV (847–855). But it is difficult to believe that nos. 82, 83, or even 84 could have been made after this inscription if no. 86 was to follow. It is with no. 86, as De Rossi points out, that this is clearly connected. But Leo V, the nearest pope of that name in date (903), reigned only a few weeks, and nothing is recorded of him except that he was '*natione*

Ardeaturius.' Leo VI (928–929) who reigned about six months was '*natione Romanus ex patre Christoforo primicero*—that is, like Demetrius (and Theodora), a member of the Roman aristocracy. I should, therefore, incline to this date (*v.* p. 77). The inscription is also comparable with no. 67. The abbreviations, final and medial M and enclitic *que* again suggest a date towards the end of the IX century or the beginning of the X.

No. 143 963

+ prECLUs HIC RECUBAT Landolfus vulnere fOSSUS
QUEM FLeviT NIMIUM CON . . . *etc.*

Rome; S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, in the lower church. Epitaph of Landolf, son of Theodora *senatrix* and John *consul* and *dux*, and adopted son of Marozia *senatrix*, who died a violent death in the flower of his youth in 963. The complete text is given in de Rossi, with his restorations.

Galletti, III, dli, 183; de Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1864, 65; G. Bossi, 'I Crescenzi,' *Diss. Acc. Pont.*, 1915, 67; G. da Bra, *Le Iscrizioni Latine della Basilica di S. Lorenzo*, 1931, 9; Schneider, no. 45; Silvagni, I, pl. XVI, 3.

The inscription was discovered in fragments in the atrium of S. Lorenzo in 1863 and was reconstructed by de Rossi. The text refers to the tomb as in '*templum martyris.*' Landolf must have been the grandson of Theodora I and Theophilact *vesterarius* (cf. nos. 139 and 140). Marozia, wife of Alberic, was his aunt and Crescentius de Theodora (cf. no. 150) his brother. The lettering is very fine and large with beautiful curves.

No. 144 (Plate XXII, 1) 972

+ PONTIFICIS SUMMI HIC CLAUDUNTUR MEMBRA JOHANNIS
QUI PRUDENS PASTOR PSOLVENS DEBITA MORTIS *etc.*

Rome; S. Paolo fuori le Mura, in the Epigraphical Museum. Epitaph of Pope John, who died September, 972, after a reign of seven years. The complete text is given by Duchesne (who expands the few abbreviations). In l. 12 part of the word SE(pte)MBRIS is missing owing to the breaking of the stone.

Margarini, *Inscriptiones Basilicae S. Pauli*, 1644, IV, no. 31; Baronius, ad. an 972; N. M. Nicolai, *Della Basilica di S. Paolo*, 1815, p. 188; Duchesne, II, 254; I. Schuster, *La Basilica e il Monastero di S. Paolo*, 1934, 58; Silvagni, I, pl. III, 2.

According to Margarini the epitaph was, previous to the fire of 1825, *inter portam sanctam et primam columnam.* John XIII (965–972) was a relation, possibly a brother, of Stephania *senatrix.*

No. 145 977

+ ARTUS HIC TUMULATOR Humo ma . . .
QUI PRUDENS DEDIT ET MERCo no . . . *etc.*

Rome; S. Sebastiano al Palatino. Epitaph of Merco, a monk who died in 977. The complete text is given by Torrigio. The last letter or two of each line as he read it is now illegible.

Torrigio, 355; G. B. Doni, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, 1731, 530; Silvagni, I, pl. XVI, 4.

The whole right side of the stone is missing. The marble is cracked, but otherwise not broken. The lettering is rubbed and has been painted in. The inscription is dated *DCCCCLXXVII*: *dep. XI* (not *II* as Torrigio has it) *cal. November ind. IIII.* The 4th indiction ran from September, 975, to September, 976. The lettering is neat and almost even line.

No. 146 981

SERGIUS HIC RECUBAT METROPOLITA SEPULTUS
QUI QUONDAM FUERAT DAMASCI TEMPORE LONGO *etc.*

Rome; in the cloisters of S. Alessio. Epitaph of Sergius, once archbishop of Damascus, who came to Rome in the reign of Pope Benedict, founded a Benedictine monastery by the church of the martyr, ceded to him by that Pope, lived there four years and died in 981 at the age of seventy-four. The complete text is given by Duchesne (where the few abbreviations are expanded). *vixit annos LXXIIII* is the end of l. 9, not part of l. 10.

Baronius, an. 977; F. M. Nerinus, *De Templo et Coenobio SS. Bonifacii et Alexii*, 1752, 68; Duchesne, 'Notes sur la topographie de Rome au Moyen Age,' *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.*, 1890, 243; P. F. Kehr, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, Italia Pontificia*, I, 1906, 116; Silvagni, I, pl. XVII, 1.

The cult of St. Alexis in the same church as the more ancient one of St. Boniface dates from the foundation of this monastery by Sergius, of which this inscription is the record. He made it the most notable in Rome and it played an important part in the religious and cultural life of the time. The letters are delicately cut and widely spaced.

No. 147 984

+ HOC BENEDICTI P̄P̄ QUIESCUNT MEMBRA SEPULCHRO
SEPTIMUS EXISTENS ORDINE QUIPPE PATRUM *etc.*

Rome; in S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Epitaph of Pope Benedict VII, recording his foundation of a monastery—*hicque locavit*—and his death on July 10th in the 12th indiction after a reign of seven years. The complete text is given by Colasanti, *N. Bull. Arch. crist.*, 1920, 40.

P. Sabinus in de Rossi, II, 435, mention but no text; L. Schrader, *Monumentorum Italiae*, 1592, 128; Baronius, ad an. 984; R. Besozzi, *La Storia della basilica di S. Croce Gerusalemme*, 1750, 51; Duchesne, II, 258; A. Silvagni, 'Note d'epigrafia medievale,' *Arch. R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Patr.*, 1909, 449 with bibliography and reproduction; Colasanti, 'L'epitaffo di Benedetto VII,' *Scritti vari offerti al Prof. Monaci*, 1901, 231; and *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1902, 40; P. F. Kehr, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, Italia Pontificia*, I, 1906, 36 and 116; Silvagni, I, pl. III, 1.

This inscription has been doubted by Baronius, followed by many others owing to the dating, July 10th, indiction 12, i.e. 984, whereas Benedict VII is known from other sources to have died in 983.[43b] Silvagni suggests that XII is a mason's error for XI, pointing out that this is really only an error of two months as the indiction changes in September. Epigraphically the inscription is entirely convincing. Duchesne assumes that the monastery referred to is that of S. Alessio, which is known from no. 146 to have been founded in the reign of Benedict VII. The earliest reference, that of Sabinus in 1494, records it in S. Croce; and there was a monastery attached to this church, of which the history is obscure, but which is referred to as already decadent in 1049. The text of the inscription is partly derived from the epitaph of Stephen VI. Leo of Ostia refers to Benedict '*propinquis Alberici*' (the grandson of Theodora). He was a zealous reformer.

The epigraphy is generous but erratic. The G forms are different from others of this school and the DE ligature is curious. Both ligatures and abbreviations are almost confined to the last line.

No. 148 984

+ CONSTAT NIMIRUM DILETISSIMI FRS · DE PROMISSIO QUE EX COR

DE FECIMUS CORA DO ET SCIS EI UT · UNUSQSQ : NROR FRS SACERDOTES ET *etc.*

Rome; SS. Cosma e Damiano. Record of a vow taken by certain priests on February 22nd, 984, in the reign of John XIV and the 12th indiction, to say masses for the souls of one another. The complete text is shown in Silvagni's reproduction.

Torrigio, 457; Baronius, XVI, 272; Mabillon, *Annal.*, ad an. 984; Marini-Mai, 16; Diehl, pl. 40b; Silvagni, *Arch. R. Soc. Rom. Stor. Pat.*, 1909, 460 (no text); Silvagni, I, pl. XVII, 2.

There are records of four inscriptions commemorating a similar vow, of which this alone survives complete. The others were in S. Maria in Cosmedin (Marini-Mai, 18), S. Adriano (Marini-Mai, 17), and SS. Giovanni e Paolo, of which a fragment survives (no. 149).

Silvagni points out that underneath the letters IOH XIIII can be traced the erasure of the name BONIFACE. Boniface VII was made pope after the murder of Benedict VI. He was deposed in favour of Benedict VII in 974. Benedict was succeeded in 983 by John XIV, during whose reign, however, Boniface returned, John was imprisoned and

[43b] *v.* no. 148, which is dated February of the same indiction but falls within the succeeding pontificate.

probably murdered; he died August 20th, 984. Boniface died in the following year. The inscription is important as showing that this usurpation had begun already in February, 984; the earliest other document gives May, 984. The lost inscription of S. Adriano is dated 994. It is natural to suppose that this is a renewal of the same vow. The inscription is remarkable for the great number of abbreviations and ligatures, particularly for contractions of syllables in the middle of words, P for *per* and *pro*, and m omitted. It is definitely different from the X century Roman school (nos. 143–147); the letters are smaller and closer together, the flat topped A, M with a long drop, uncial E and Q and the many ligatures all differentiate it. There are two enlarged initials (*v.* nos. 4′, 13′, 15, 87, 139.).

No. 149 *? early XI century*

. . . I FR̄S̄ DE PMISSI . . .
. . . T UNUSQSQ: N̄R̄ . . .
. . . DOTES IN PERPETU . . .
. . . MISSAS P ĒĪ . . .
. . . ES S̄T̄ CAN . . .
. . . UPATU . . .
. . . ST . . .

Rome; SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Fragment of inscription commemorating a vow, similar to no. 148, now let into a marble slab on which the whole inscription is reconstructed.

Torrigio, 456; Marini-Mai, 17; Diehl, pl. 40c; Silvagni, I, pl. CVII, 3.

The fragment was copied in 1631 by Torrigio. He identified it as the same text as no. 148. The lettering of the small fragment which survives is mean, cramped and badly executed, more like an VIII than a X century inscription. If the copy at S. Adriano was dated 994 (*v.* no. 148) it seems probable that this is not necessarily contemporary with no. 148, as is usually assumed, and that it may have been cut in the early XI century, when epigraphy seems in some cases to have reverted to VIII century decadence (*e.g.*, Diehl, pl. 42c–44b).

No. 150 984

CORPORE HIC RECUBAT CRESCENTIUS INCLI
TUS ECCE :· EXIMIVS CIVIS ROMANUS *etc.*

Rome; in the cloisters of S. Alessio. Epitaph of Crescentius, son of John and Theodora, who became a monk in the monastery of S. Boniface. Complete text in *Poet. Lat.*

F. M. Nerini, *De Templo et Coenobio SS. Bonifacii et Alexii*, 1752, 56; Strecker, *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.*, V, 341, n. 116; Silvagni, I, pl. XVII, 4.

This inscription is not in the Roman style, but in the same debased classical tradition as nos. 148 and 149. It is very rubbed now and hard to read, but can never have been well cut.

No. 151 987

. . . CUIUS ERAT CUNCTIS VITA REFERTA BONIS
. . . OBIIT IN PACE VIII ID IAN INDICT XV
. . . ANNO DOMINICE INCARNATIONIS
. . . DCCCCLXXXVII.

Rome; S. Agata dei Goti. End of an epitaph of someone who died in 987.

C. Huelsen, C. Cecchelli, etc., *S. Agata dei Goti*, 1924, 194; *Arch. Paleog. Ital.*, V, fasc. 53, 31; Silvagni, I, pl. XVII, 5.

The inscription was discovered in 1923, during the excavations in the atrium of S. Agata. The wavy marks above the numerals are remarkable. This is the only inscription of this style with uncial D.

No. 152 994

+ hoc humata iacent iohis membra sepulchro
q nepe fuerat psul in urbe qdem
ne nepa saeva sibi noceat succurre redeptor
et que contrax crimina terge pius
ante loco sco volvit sEPELIRIER ISTO
quo p hos scos inveniaT REQem
extensum per θ ρ κ et conexa
xpi annum monstrant
quo trANSIIT ISte SACERDOS
obiit in pace II KL . NOV .
. (ϵ . ѧ . O . I) .

Rome; S. Saba. Epitaph of John, bishop of Nepi.

Ugonio MS., *Theatrum urbis Romae*, c. 1349, v. Silvagni *infra*; Baronius, an. 770; Ughelli-Coleti, I, 1025; Galletti, ccccxvii, 3; Sarti e Settele, 74, pl. XXXV, n. 4; *M.G.H. Poet. Lat.*, I, 99 and 109; A. Silvagni, 'Per la datazione di una iscrizione romana medievale di S. Saba,' *Arch. R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Pat.*, 1908, 432 with bibliography; Bacci, *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1907, 322; Silvagni, I, pl. XVII, 6.

Only two fragments of this inscription now survive, both so rubbed that many of the letters are illegible. Ugonio identified the tomb and inscription, which he apparently saw intact, as that of John VIII. The text, however, says *que Nepe fuerat praesul in urbe*. Baronius identified him as John, bishop of Nepi about 770, and interpreted the date as 770. In 769, however, another bishop of Nepi signed at a council. Sarti and Settele interpreted the date as 1063, which is accepted by Tomassetti. Silvagni, collating all the MSS. sources for the text, arrives at the date 994. Ughelli-Coleti (I, 1028) gives a John bishop of Nepi whose subscriptions appear between 989 and 993. The epigraphy confirms this date.

No. 153 999

+ hic qUEM CLAUDIT HUMUS · OCULIS VULTUQ : DECORUM ·
+ papA FUIT · QVINTUS NOMINE GREGORIUS · *etc.*

Rome; St. Peter's, in the crypt. Epitaph of Gregory V. Complete text in Silvagni reproduction.

P. Mallius in de Rossi, II, 217; P. Sabinus in de Rossi, II, 410; Torrigio, 349; Sarti et Settele, 145; Grisar, 188, pl. IV, incomplete; Dufresne, 108; Diehl, pl. 41b; Duchesne, II, 262; Schneider, no. 50; Silvagni, I, pl. IV, 1.

The translation of the inscription from the old basilica, where P. Mallius saw it, to the crypt is recorded by Grimaldi. The top left-hand corner has been broken off and restored.

Gregory V was the young cousin of Otto III to whom he owed his election to the papacy. The most characteristic feature of the inscription is the very open spacing of the letters, the interval between two letters being equal to the width of the letter, sometimes even greater. The lines begin with a cross and most end with a breezy flourish. There are triangular stops. The restoration of the left corner and the heading (+ *Gregorius PP V*), on a separate stone, appear to be later additions.

XII. THE NORTH ITALIAN X CENTURY STYLE

Though the survival of a purely classical style is proved by the epitaphs of Abbot Peter (no. 155) and Dominicus (no. 157), the advent of the X century sees the evolution of a new Italian style which is a definite break away from the classical (nos. 156–162). Not only is there an increase in the use of unorthodox letters, but once again lettering is becoming expressionist. These X century letters are large, they are cut boldly and clearly, they are confident, vigorous and worldly; it is a very positive style. Compared to the South Italian style, with which it has many letters in common, it is perhaps less sophisticated, certainly less elegant and elaborate than that style at its best, but it is far more full of life. Perhaps the best of the group surviving is that of Ermengarda at Lucca (no. 161, Plate XXII, 2). It is interesting that here the letters grow larger at the bottom; in most inscriptions the letters tend to grow smaller.

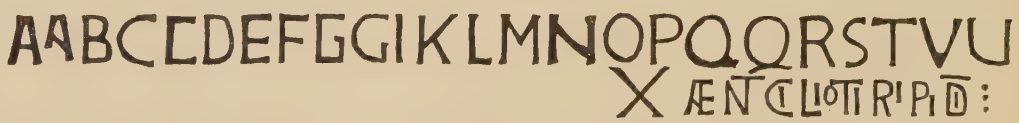
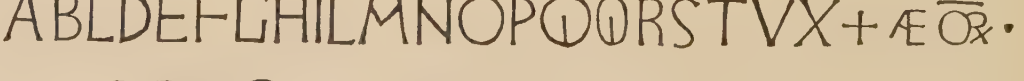
The characteristic letters are square C and G, M with the apices serif-tipped, Q with a tail inside, and an occasional use of uncial forms. The inscriptions, however,

show a good deal of individuality, though the style is unmistakable. The most notable features are the strong verticals, the even line of the letters, almost completely without differentiation of thick and thin, and the sharp square serifs, usually very short.

From the dated inscriptions it seems that the style was current from the beginning to the end of the century (897–979). It does not appear, from the material that survives, that there was any particular development.

All these inscriptions are epitaphs; they commemorate Ermengarda, Carolingian princess and nun, her sister the famous Bertha of Tuscany, the priest Alberic, Notker bishop of Verona, the priest Tapho and one Hubert. It is not therefore altogether clear whether this was a style distinctive to the nobility, though its character gives that impression, and the names which can be identified are connected with the arrogant political ambitions of the time. Certainly the style is distinctively North Italian;[44] the examples I have found are in Verona, Brescia and Lucca.

Abbreviations are not very common or characteristic. They include the omission of final M, and *p* for *pro*.

No.	Height of letters.	
154	*c.* 4–3 cm.	
156	*c.* 4·5 cm.	
158	4·2–4·4 cm.	
159	4–5 cm.	
160	3·5–4·5 cm.	
161	6–7 cm.	
155	2·8–3·2 cm.	
157	3·4 cm.	

[44] It is, however, similar to some contemporary Frankish inscriptions, cf. Deschamps, *Bull. Mon.*, 1929, pl. VII.

No. 154 897

QUI FUERAT MITIS PATIENS HUMILISQ SACER . . .
INGENIO POLLENS NOBILITATE VIGENS *etc.*

Brescia; in the lower gallery of the Museo Cristiano. Epitaph of the virtuous priest Tapho. The complete text is given in all the references.

Not. Sc., 1885, 333; Cipolla, 233; Grossi-Gondi, no. 49, pl. XXXV.

The inscription was discovered during restoration in the church of S. Maria in Solario in 1885. The beginning is missing and the upper half of almost all the letters in the first line, which is, however, legible.

The inscription is dated *anno dominicae incarnationis DCCCXCVII. ind.* . III *id april.* The method of dating, abbreviations and square C and G class this inscription with the new X century school.

No. 155 900

+ S P M +
HIC SIBI CONSTRUCTA TUML . . .
ATUR PETRUS IN URNA *etc.*

Milan; S. Ambrogio in a room on the right of the chapel of S. Satiro. Epitaph in verse of abbot Peter, who died in October, 900, indiction 3, after a rule of forty-five years and one month. The complete text is given by Forcella, and is correct for the first six lines, which alone are now visible.

G. P. Purcelli, *Ambrosianae Mediolani Basilicae ac Monasterii Monumenta*, 1645, 269; P. Puccinelli, *Memorie Antiche di Milano*, 1650, 56; Forcella, III, 210, with other references; Guilini, *Memorie di Milano*, 1854, I, 394; Grossi-Gondi, no. 51.

Forcella quotes charters to S. Ambrogio in the Archivio di Stato di Milano, according to which abbot Peter II was elected in 858 and died in 899. The 3rd indiction falls in 900, the 4th beginning in September, 901.

No. 156 925

HOC TEGITUR TUMULO COMITISSAE CORPUS HUMATU:
INCLITA PROGENIES BERTA BENIGNA PIA: *etc.*

Lucca; in the cathedral. Epitaph of countess Berta, a descendant of Charles, daughter of Lothar and wife of Adalbert, duke of Italy. She died in 925 ind. XIII. Complete text is legible from the reproduction of Silvagni.

F. M. Fiorentini, *Memorie di Matilda*, 1642, III, 187; *Guida Sacra alle Chiese di Lucca*, 1736, 216; L. Schrader, *Monumentorum Italiae*, 1592, 87; Muratori, *Thes.*, mdcccxliii; Silvagni, III, fasc. I, pl. I, 3.

The epitaph was seen in the cathedral by Schrader. Most of the publications, including Schrader, combine with the epitaph of Berta that of her husband Adalbert of Tuscany. The latter also exists in Lucca cathedral, but it is inscribed in unmistakable Gothic lettering.

Berta was the daughter of Lothar II of Lotharingia; she played an important part in the politics of her time. By her first husband she was mother of Hugh, King of Italy 926–946. There are a number of abbreviations, mostly M, final or medial.

No. 157 921–931

+ HIC REQUEISCIT IN PACE digne mMORIE DOMINICUS P̄B̄R
OFFICIALIS AECLESIAE HIEMALI s et cameraRIUS DOMNI LĀPTI
ARCHĒPI *etc.*

Milan; in the cloister of the Museo Archeologico, no. 303. Epitaph of the priest Dominicus, chamberlain to archbishop Lambert, who arranged his burial. Complete text in Forcella.

Forcella, I, 67.

Forcella, who catalogues the inscription under the church of S. Tecla, records that it was found in the Piazza del Duomo at a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres. The stone is broken in two and so rubbed in the middle that it is illegible. Less is legible now than when it was transcribed by Forcella. His reading of the now illegible words is given above. It was probably originally the lid of a sarcophagus, and bears a large incised cross.

Archbishop Lambert reigned 921–931.

No. 158 928

+ PRAESULIS HOC TUMULO REQUIESCIT CORPUS HUMATUM
+ NOTKERII LARGUS QUI FUIT ADQUAE PIUS *etc.*

Verona; in the cathedral. Epitaph in verse of Notker bishop of Verona. The complete text is given by Billo.

O. Panvinio, *Antiquitatum Veronensium*, 1668, 139; L. Moscardo, *Historia di Verona dall' origine fino all' anno* 1668, 104; Ughelli-Coleti, 733; G. Ongaro, 'Cultura e scuola calligrafica Veronese del sec X,' *Mem. Istit. Ven.*, XXIX, 1924, 20; L. Billo, *Arch. Ven.*, 1934, 67 with full bibliography.

The inscription is recorded as in the cathedral in a XVI century MS. cited by L. Billo. Notker was bishop 906–928.

The inscription is well cut with fine edges and generous forms. The apices of all diagonal lines are pointed, a rare characteristic. The G and the Æ ligature are South Italian features; the practice of beginning each line with a cross is also found in no. 153.

No. 159 (Plate XX, 2). 979

+ HUBERTUS FUERĀ · SED NUNC SUM VILE CADAVER ·
EGREDIENS ANIMA · FECIT HOC ESSE NICHIL · *etc.*

Verona; Museo Civico al Castelvecchio. Epitaph of Hubert, who died at the age of sixty in March, 979, the 7th indiction. The complete text is given by Billo.

F. S. Maffei, *Museum Veronense*, 1749, clxxxii; Cipolla, *Gallerie Nazionali*, 235 (no text); L. Billo, *Arch. Ven.*, 1934, 72 (reproduction).

The inscription was in the Museo Filarmonico at the time of Maffei. At some subsequent time it was used for an altar and a piece in the middle of the last seven lines was cut out. The complete text is preserved by Maffei.

The lettering is rather grandly done with some lapses. The revival of the B with separated bowls is reminiscent of the inscription of Pandulf (no. 133). The abbreviations are few (final *m* and *per*). *Obiit* is spelt *hobiit*.

No. 160 *X century*

+ HOC IN SaRCOFaGO REQUIEscunT MEMBRA SEPULTA
ALBErICI SOBRII PRESBITERI QUE PII . .
EXO . . . AR . . . IVS ILLVSTRIS PER TEMPORA QVAEDAM
QV . . . ICO . . . AM EXSTITIT ECCLESIAE
. . . MVLATV NOCTE DIEQVE
A . . . DEDITVS OBSEQVIIS
MIT . . . NECNON SERMONE BENIGNVS
CUN . . . AT PACIS AMATOR ERAT
V . . . E . . . E NRŌCITO DIC MENTE SERENA
. . . MIAPOSSIDEA . . .

Brescia; in the lower gallery of the Museo Cristiano. Epitaph of the priest Alberic.

Notizie degli Scavi, 1885, 335.

The inscription was discovered at the same time as no. 154 in the church of S. Maria in Solaria at Brescia. It is incompetently cut. The combination of general classical forms with square C and G suggest a X century date. There are no abbreviations.

No. 161 (Plate XXII, 2) *probably first half X century*

+ HIC IACET · IN TUMULO FELIX VENERABILIS ATQUE:
ERMENGARDIS OLIM·N̄AQUE DICATA DEO: *etc.*

Lucca; from S. Giustina, now in the Hospital. Epitaph of the nun Ermengarda, daughter of king Lothar, who died VIII id. August. Complete text is legible in the reproduction of Silvagni.

F. M. Florentini, *Memorie di Matilda*, 1642, III, 39; *Guida Sacra alle chiese di Lucca*, 1736, 187; Muratori, *Thes.*, mdccclxxxv; Silvagni, III, fasc. I, pl. VI, 3.

Ermengarda could be the child of Lothar I, son of Louis the Pious, king of Italy (820–855), or of his son Lothar II, king of Lotharingia (855–869) the father of Berta (no. 156). It seems most probable that the latter is referred to here, as Lothar I had the title of Emperor and was king of Italy before his marriage in 821, whereas this Lothar is given neither title. Fiorentini assumed that Ermengarda was the sister of Berta. Lothar I had a daughter Ermengarde, but she married Giselbert. Epigraphically this is fairly like no. 156. The Æ ligature and the omission of final M are common. The M is similar to no. 129.

XIII. CONCLUSIONS

To a large extent the conclusions which may be drawn from the study of Dark Age Italian epigraphy are apparent simply in the arrangement of this essay. The fact that these inscriptions taken from a purely paleographical viewpoint without regard to textual content fall into groups which are naturally described as 'Roman,' 'Lombard,' 'popular' immediately demonstrates that the grouping reflects the political and cultural life of the period. In this final chapter I want to try to connect these groups with what we know of contemporary history and art and so, by putting them in their setting, to see their significance.

The first striking fact is the existence of the Lombard school and the high quality of its work. No one has, I think, given us a very distinct or convincing picture of Lombard culture, and the monuments and objects which survive are not very numerous, nor are they very coherent. On the one hand, we know both from Roman sources and from the narrative of Paul the Deacon that the Lombards when they came to Italy were barbarians. They had not, like the Goths, been in contact with classical civilisation for centuries and had not learnt to admire or to aspire to it; they came as enemies, as Arians rejecting the Catholic faith, bringing their own laws and customs and reducing the Romans whom they conquered to servitude. And this aggressively anti-Roman attitude combined with cynical political realism recurs throughout the history of their kingdom; in the codification of their law in the VII century by Rothari, of which Hodgkin remarks that 'its promulgation on the sacred soil of Italy is like the black tent of the Bedouin pitched amid the colonnade of some stately Syrian temple whose ruined glories touch no responsive chord in the soul of the swart barbarian';[45] and in the policies of the last kings Aistolf and Desiderius.

On the other hand, we have the history and poetry of Paul the Deacon, comparable in Latinity and humanism to the work of Bede and in strong contrast to the barbarism of Gregory of Tours.[46] And there is other quite creditable verse probably produced by Lombards in the VIII century.[47] Of painting nothing survives,[48] hardly anything of architecture, though Paul the Deacon records the building of a number of churches and palaces and the decoration of some with frescoes. Of sculpture there is a good deal

[45] Hodgkin, *Italy and her invaders*, VI, 238.

[46] But unlike the Anglo-Saxons they produced no vernacular literature.

[47] Among which the inscribed verses at Pavia and Benevento are prominent, *v. M.G.H., Poetae Latini*, I and IV, pt. II.

[48] Of the MSS. probably produced in the Lombard kingdom which survive none contain illustrations beyond ornamental initials, arcades, etc. There are no full-page illuminations of figure subjects.

which may be dated to the period of the Lombard kingdom, including works of considerable aesthetic importance and originality, but the diversity of style between such works as the altar of Ratchis, the stucco figures in S. Maria in Valle, at Cividale, the altar at Ferentillo, the Theodota sarcophagus and the many reliefs very similar to it, is baffling. And here, I think, epigraphy provides a very important clue. It immediately separates out the altar at Ferentillo (no. 31) and the Theodota sarcophagus (no. 43) as examples of two quite distinct styles, and identifies the former as associated with other non-Lombard work. It also shows us the altar of Ratchis in the period of experiment, definitely earlier than the formed Lombard style.[49]

With the sarcophagus of Theodota are associated a number of other inscribed pieces (nos. 33, 35, 36, 41, 42, 45, 46) all similar in paleography as well as sculptural style, and also a number of uninscribed carvings at Brescia,[49a] Trent,[49b] Cividale[49c] and Modena.[49d] This group has long been recognised by art historians, but the fact that the inscriptions are so closely combined and related that they may be classed with the sculpture as one school gives us new evidence about it. The study of epigraphy makes it quite clear that this school was Lombard. Whether executants were Lombard by race we cannot tell, but we do know that these masons worked for the Lombard nobility,[50] that they worked in the Lombard kingdom only, and that their style virtually ceases to be practised with the fall of the Lombard kingdom. Epigraphy also shows us that they were completely independent of contemporary Roman carvers, for not only are the two styles absolutely distinct, but the Roman is in every way inferior. If these were wandering craftsmen[51] they kept within their political boundaries; but it seems more likely that they belonged to court workshops at Pavia, Cividale and perhaps one or two other centres.

Epigraphy also clarifies the question of date. Out of the chaos of styles and objects attributed to the Dark Ages we can say that the sculptural style associated with our inscriptions is Lombard work produced between 730 and 780 (as outside dates). The point is of considerable importance inasmuch as historians seem generally to have accepted either 705 or 720 as a definite date for Theodota, thereby also confusing the question of the relation of this school to the altar of Ratchis.

The style of these carvings is obviously in some sense classical. Not only are the motives represented—peacocks, vines, birds, etc., drawn from the classical repertory—but the ease, skill and elegance also suggest a classical tradition, a fact which has led some art historians [52] to attribute this work to Greek or Italian craftsmen. In the same way we have noticed how it is the 'popular', not this Lombard school, which seems barbaric in feeling in its epigraphy, though the geographical and textual evidence prove it largely 'classical' in origin. We are involved in the dominant problem of Dark Age history, the relative contribution of the classical and the barbarian cultures and peoples, and we need to distinguish in what sense we are using the words 'barbarian' and 'classical.'

[49] If the stucco figures are then dated after the formation of the style we have an explanation of the difference between them and the altar.

[49a] Toesca, I, 281, fig. 174.

[49b] E. Schaffran, *Die Kunst der Langobarden*, 1941, pl. 24*c*.

[49c] Haseloff, pl. 51.

[49d] Toesca, I, 278, fig. 169.

[50] The only signature is that of Johannes *magister* at Bobbio—but that name tells us nothing certain of his nationality.

[51] This does not exclude the possibility that these carvers are the *magistri Comacini* mentioned in the laws of Rothari and Liutprand.

[52] Cattaneo, Ch. II; Rivoira I, 104.

Perhaps the most obvious distinguishing feature of the barbarians who invaded the Empire was their art. It is an art which they brought with them, and which they all shared with only slight differentiations. Its most common medium is metal-work and jewelry, its character is abstract: that is, it is self-contained. It rejects the connotations which any sort of representation must introduce. Dispensing with a subject it cuts itself off from all the ideas—using the word in every sense—which may exist in the mind of the artist, or the onlooker, some or many of which a subject must necessarily embody. But is this sort of attitude to art necessarily barbarian, in the racial sense of the word? Why is there this deliberate shutting up, cutting off? Surely, because the artist does not know where he is among ideas; which are true or which are false, which are important or unimportant, and he fears that to get involved in them without such knowledge will destroy the coherence, the integrity, of his work. Such an attitude is common among primitive people, but it also re-occurs among civilised people as they lose faith in their power to know for certain, to distinguish truth from error. When we call a work of art 'barbarian' we may be describing its psychological not its racial origin.

Classical art—meaning that which characterised the later Roman Empire—is more difficult to define, because it is not a closing in but an opening up, a making available. When we speak of 'classical' in contrast to 'barbarian' art in the Roman Empire, or after it, we find that we may mean a whole medley of styles—Roman, Byzantine, Hellenistic, Alexandrian—almost any style current anywhere in the Roman Empire; in fact, an atmosphere of free trade in art, rather than a particular sort of art, accessible to Greek and barbarian alike, expansive, implying confidence in man's power to know and distinguish, and therefore always preferring representational art with the enriching connotations which it implies. It is clear that it is to the latter world that Lombard carving belongs. The sculpture consists mainly of representational motives, and used for a decorative and not an abstract purpose, and its masterpieces are the representational altar of Ratchis and the figures at Cividale. Whence is this 'classical style' derived, since it has no connection with the contemporary Roman School?

It is remarkable that the developed Lombard style is a sudden flowering, originating only in the VIII century. In the VII century the important figure in cultural history is queen Theodelinda. It was she who built and ornamented the palace and basilica at Monza and welcomed St. Columbanus and his foundation at Bobbio. And clearly it was to Rome she looked for inspiration. She mediated a peace between her husband and St. Gregory, with whom she corresponded and from whom she received works of art as presents. The two objects which definitely originate from her court—the stone panels now walled into the cathedral at Monza[53] and the frontlet of Agilulf[54]—are both direct (though very poor) imitations of classical work without a trace of the barbarian approach. Theodelinda's daughter Gundeperga also built a handsome church at Pavia, but otherwise the mid-VII century is almost barren both of records and survivals of works of art until we get to the reign of Perctarit, another important builder according to Paul the Deacon and the first Lombard king to mint coins of original design instead of imitations of the Byzantine.[55] Perctarit was Theodelinda's great-nephew and he also lived at peace with Rome, and by his time it seems that Romans and Lombards were

[53] Cattaneo, 53.
[54] Haseloff, pl. 43.
[55] *v.* Wroth, *Catalogue of Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards in the British Museum*, 1911.

mixing together in the Lombard kingdom on fairly equal terms. Between these two reigns the two outstanding kings, Rothari and Grimwald (neither of them members of the house of Theodelinda) pursued an aggressively anti-Roman political policy. I suggest that the VIII century flowering is the result of a turning towards the classical idea initiated by Theodelinda and directly related to political policy; that the clue to much that is puzzling in the history of the Lombards lies perhaps in a dualism in their mentality which alternates and is never resolved, which is most clearly reflected in their metal-work, Nils Åberg[56] having shown that they practised at the same time in two current Germanic styles and in a 'Byzantine' style. On the one hand, they were barbarians, making their way more by cunning than bravery, who deliberately rejected the rules of civilised life and mocked the ideas of contract and truth. On the other hand is the element—apparently the artistically fertile element—which was so responsive to classical influence, producing people of charm and gentleness who seem cousins to the Anglo-Saxons, such as Paul and Perctarit and Ratchis, and with a firmer streak, Liutprand, and also, when it was dominant at court, producing so surprisingly elegant an art.

Can we now also explain and place the popular school? We have seen that it is possible to reconcile its 'barbaric' character with the evidence that it was the product of native Italian or mixed Italian and Lombard taste. It emerges, therefore, surely as extraordinarily vivid evidence of the psychological state of an otherwise inarticulate class, and reveals this stratum of the Italian population—the lesser clerics and nobility—losing at the same time the classical sense of confidence and the idea of the classical Latin language. These are the people who in the previous two hundred years had suffered first the long-drawn-out Gothic wars, then the disillusioning Byzantine reconquest and, finally, conquest or the threat of conquest by the violent and erratic Lombard barbarians. The geographical distribution of these inscriptions shows us that they come from the districts which suffered most from political conditions. Epigraphy confirms what might have been presumed historically. More unexpected perhaps is this evidence that instead of sinking into inarticulate despair they were rising out of the trough and creating a new and vigorous art and language.

And yet in Rome we have co-existent a quite different type of epigraphy; in a sense classical, without a break with the old tradition, but not in quite the same sense that Lombard epigraphy is classical.[57] The reason must surely be that the classical idea was to the Lombards a new vision and inspiration, whereas to the papal court it was an old vision, dimly known, but passionately adhered to. This is surely the temper of VIII century Roman politics and art. This is the century of the iconoclastic controversy, when the papacy had the confidence to reject and condemn the Byzantine innovation and thereby to cut itself off from the Eastern church and to a large extent from Eastern civilisation and political protection. Yet it was almost completely dependent on both. In 732 (the date of the Lateran Council) the Lombard threat (realised in Aistolf's siege of Rome in 756) was near and Frankish protection—the only alternative to Byzantine—very precarious. The majority of the popes of this century were themselves Greek or

[56] N. Åberg, *Die Goten und Langobarden in Italien*, 1923.

[57] It is remarkable that the coins of Stephen III and Hadrian I are barbaric in lettering and design. Perhaps their inscriptions would have become so. Those of Leo III are transformed after the Carolingian model.

Syrian and the art that they patronised was dependent on Eastern inspiration. It is remarkable how much artistic activity there was in Rome and how little of any merit. The *Liber Pontificalis* gives us a very full record. A high proportion of the frescoes executed survive. They show that various styles were current, but that none of them were really understood by the artists using them, who failed equally to find a style of their own. The results are mean and meagre, very similar to the epigraphical work. In architecture the popes did an extraordinary amount of repairing and embellishing, but hardly any new building; it is difficult, therefore, to know the effect of their work, but just this fact is surely evidence again of their faith and pride in Rome and their lack of any original ability. The descriptions of what they did, of the curtains and altar cloths, the gold and silver statues, ciboria, grilles and candelabra, the hanging crosses and crowns and bowls, suggest that they were only enriching their churches according to the current Byzantine fashion. I do not know of any illuminated MSS. or noteworthy sculpture which can definitely be ascribed to this century.

VIII century Rome was not decadent in the sense of being dead, but in that its life was in a classical idea which for all its faith it seemed to lack the power to inhabit and fructify.

The Carolingian intervention, bringing not only physical security, but the psychological elation which this new commitment of the barbarian West to the idea of Rome must have excited, provided the element lacking. It is notable that the Roman inscriptions of the early IX century, though they represent a complete break with the VIII century tradition, are not imitations of the epitaph of Hadrian I or of other Carolingian inscriptions. They represent a formed and distinctive style parallel in feeling to the mosaics with which they are associated, which aesthetically as well as historically have themselves an important place in the magnificent Roman series. Our study shows that this artistic flowering probably ended about 850.[58] The abrupt change in style between the vision of the mosaics, awkward perhaps in expression, but deeply spiritual and fundamentally delicate and serene, and that of the frescoes in S. Clemente of the reign of Leo IV,[59] which is expressed in dynamic linear movement and dramatic emphasis, has been noted by all art historians. The fact that epigraphy also shows a similar break proves that this is not accidental, that it is in fact the natural reaction to the devastating event of 846, the sack of the basilicas of St. Peter and of St. Paul by the Saracens; and its corollary, the realisation that the grandsons of Charles the Great were unable or unwilling to defend Rome, to unite Italy, or to preserve intact the Empire of their father. The remarkable thing is that what follows is not a relapse into decadence, but a new and more vigorous style inaugurated by the inscription of John VIII.

The mid-IX century thus appears as a watershed in Italian history. The Carolingian intervention in the later VIII century had revolutionised the scene, destroyed the Lombard style, introduced new styles in North Italy and Rome and re-orientated the 'popular' style at the same time as inscriptions began to be made in Lombard South Italy. For the seventy years afterwards epigraphy shows an approximation to unity. In all styles of the first half of the century there is a characteristic of confidence, a level of technical competence, a modicum of respect for classical forms and format which does seem to represent some feeling of unity and stability. The Lombard inscriptions are less mannered,

[58] In the same style are the silver reliquaries of Paschal I (Haseloff, pl. 57, 58).

[59] Toesca, I, 404.

the popular ones less abstract. Only the inscriptions of the east, from what had been the Exarchate, show a conservatism and refusal to compromise with the new spirit. After 850 the different elements in Italian culture re-emerge; and again I think the development of the 'popular' style is significant. Style II is essentially a compromise: it retains the freshness and verve of the original style and it is still closely connected with sculpture, but it ceases to create works of art in their own right, or to be integrally incorporated with sculpture; its sculpture, too, is now neither abstract nor vividly conceptual, but decorative, incorporating conceptual motives. After 850 this style disappears (was it the creation of one man and perhaps his pupils?) and we get inscriptions still using popular letter-forms, but without meaning, no longer belonging to a real style, just incompetent and provincial. There are no 'popular' inscriptions dated to the X century.[60]

It would appear that the Carolingian revolution sapped the life out of popular Italian art. Surely this is what we would expect? I have suggested that it was the expression of a consciousness which had lost hope in the classical idea; the revival of that idea, therefore, by a barbarian people, politically supreme, and committing themselves to classicism as their own ethos politically as well as culturally, must necessarily have transformed that consciousness and eliminated the 'barbaric' state of mind. Epigraphy illustrates how the effect of the Carolingian revolution was psychologically permanent and fundamental.

The later inscriptions of our period, being all within the classical way of thought, do not offer the same problems, and it only remains to indicate their political and artistic background. Most interesting are the Roman inscriptions of the late IX and X centuries. They are a remarkable illustration to the history of the idea of the Roman *Renovatio* traced by historians.[61] The inscriptions of the great popes who took up the defence of Rome against the Saracens and who in their letters and by their actions towards the Carolingians take up and indeed take over the idea of the *Renovatio* of the Empire, Leo IV, Nicholas I and John VIII, are experimental; but the lost inscription of Leo IV over the Gate of the Leonine City is unequivocal in words:

Roma caput orbis splendor spes aurea Roma[62]

and foreshadows the development from the epitaph of Nicholas I to the beginning of the true classical revival in the inscription of Joannipolis; it is notable that it is now, not at the beginning of the century, that we get inscriptions comparable in magnificence, classical dignity and proportion to the Carolingian inscription at Tours.[63] We find the finest example not on a papal inscription but on the epitaph of an official. This follows the historical evidence, which shows us that by the end of the century the chief protagonists of the *Renovatio* were the Roman nobility. It is tempting to identify Pope Leo of no. 142 with Leo VI, the son of Christophorus *primicerius*. Nos. 139 and 140 are perhaps the most direct personal evidence we have of Theodora *senatrix*, virtual ruler of Rome in her time, whose history we know largely through the anti-feminist Liutprand of Cremona. The inscriptions certainly show a feminine impatience with the academic pre-occupation of the style of Demetrius but also attractive audacity and generosity.

[60] The Dietrich carving in Bingen, however, seems to me from the reproduction in Bauer, *Mainzer Epigraphik*, 24, to be popular both in epigraphy and sculpture. It is the only known inscription in old high German and is dated by philologists to the X century.

[61] In particular, P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*.

[62] De Rossi, II, 324.

[63] *Cf.* epitaph of Adelberga, 840, reproduced by Deschamps, *Bull. Mon.*, 1929, pl. II.

Equally interesting are the Roman inscriptions of the second half of the X century; partly from their intrinsic merit, for they constitute yet another distinctive school, representing a period of Roman culture from which scarcely any other works of art survive; partly because they show a cultural continuity between the Rome of Theodora and Marozia (no. 143) and that of Otto III. The monastery of SS. Alexius and Boniface, next to which Otto built his palace, was refounded by Benedict VII (no. 147) under Sergius (no. 146) as first abbot. The last inscription of the series is the epitaph of Gregory V, Otto's cousin, whom he created pope. Otto III was the protagonist of the idea of *Renovatio* in its most complete and complicated form.

The North Italian style of the X century is what one might expect of the Italian nobility of the time, forceful but neither cultured nor beautiful. The inscriptions of Anspert are more difficult to place. They come after the inscription of John VIII and before those of Demetrius. Anspert was in constant though scarcely cordial contact with John VIII. He was also in contact with the Emperors, crowning Charles the Bald as king of Italy, as well as burying his predecessor, though I know no Frankish inscriptions quite comparable. I think we have here also a personal style, though one quite in accord with the spirit of the time. Most notable perhaps is the fact that Anspert was a Lombard by birth.

The existence of a different style in the papal territories in the IX century, or rather the refusal of that area to adopt the Carolingian fashion and its adherence to the still-Byzantine world in Venice and Dalmatia, is interesting evidence of separatism and conservatism.

Of all the inscriptions of our period the most coherent and considerable are those from the South Italian Lombard states. Whereas elsewhere styles appear and disappear within half a century, here we have a continuous development for two centuries, so that here only is it possible to date a particular inscription by the letter-forms, certain forms obviously coming in and going out of fashion in succession, within the general limitation of the style. Elsewhere it has only been possible to say that an inscription seems to belong to one or other short-lived school. This stability corresponds with the development of the Beneventan script, which originates at the end of the VIII century, showing, to begin with, close affinity with the North Italian minuscule, but instead of being superseded—as was that and almost every other hand by the Carolingian minuscule—developing its own handsome and mannered style which subsists until the XIII century. The date of our first inscriptions also conforms to what we know of South Italian culture. It seems to have lagged behind the North. The first buildings recorded were built by princesses of northern origin and the first duke to make his court an artistic centre was Arichis II (758–787), the recreator of Salerno, himself a North Lombard, who no doubt welcomed other cultured refugees as well as Paul the Deacon, after the fall of the Lombard kingdom. It seems probable that his epitaph inaugurated our series,[64] which like the script is clearly a continuation and transformation of the Pavian tradition.

The inscriptions are paralleled throughout our period by the other arts. Unfortunately the IX century churches at Montecassino and S. Vincenzo al Volturno do not exist; perhaps they might have given some clue to the relation between the Benedictine and the South Lombard cultures. The frescoes at S. Vincenzo certainly seem to

[64] *v.* p. 124, no. 42.

belong to a different spirit from the stolid Beneventan epitaphs. The lettering there is also very different, compressed but with great variation of thick and thin, not unlike that of the contemporary Leo IV frescoes in Rome, and like them nearer to the Adriatic group (facing Constantinople) than to any other. There still survives, however, the probably IX century figure-sculpture at Capua,[65] the X century churches in the same city and the illuminated Exultet Rolls, the series of which begins in the X century: a continuous tradition of artistic activity unparalleled in our period and continuing its development into the succeeding centuries.

Only in epigraphy and paleography, however, is the surviving evidence of this activity continuous. It should be noted that the end of our period, A.D. 1000, though it seems to mark a decadent stage, is certainly not the end of the Southern epigraphical style. The XI century inscription of Desiderius over the door at S. Angelo in Formis, is, for example, a development of the same style.[66]

It is disappointing that there are no inscriptions associated with the only other distinguishable style of sculpture of our period, of which examples exist at Sorrento, Naples and Otranto, as well as Capua,[67] and are clearly closely related to others at Aquileia, Murano and Torcello.[68] It would be interesting to know if these were related to our Adriatic group (p. 106, nos. 99–105).

Except for this group of reliefs (of which the inscriptions would perhaps in any case be Greek) epigraphy provides evidence directly or indirectly about almost all the important surviving works of art of the period. And because its material is continuous and widely distributed, it reveals cultural traditions which are otherwise inarticulate, and thus provides new data about the make-up of contemporary society.

PALEOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

It is clear from the alphabets that it is only possible in a very few cases to date an inscription by a particular letter-form. Distinctive forms are not current before or after certain dates, but recur in different groups at different times. Dating can only be by the concurrence of various forms. I have not, therefore, attempted to make a complete chart. The characteristic letters of each group are noted in the introduction to that group. Forms peculiar to any inscription are noted under that inscription. The following notes are intended to record points which might be useful in dealing with comparative material.

A. The forms used are various combinations of a pointed or serif-tipped or square-topped letter with a straight, slanting or broken bow. The only examples without a bow are in Nos. 105, 120, 161; with a projecting stroke across the top, Nos. 14, 80, 85, 116, 117, 137. Most groups use several forms.

B. The stem projecting below and/or above the curves is a Lombard peculiarity (Nos. 27, 39, 44, 46). Separated bowls occur throughout the period in almost all the non-classical groups, but are particularly characteristic of VIII century Rome (Nos. 4–6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15); *v.* also 45, 55, 96, 97, 133, 160.

C. The earliest dated example of square C is No. 66, 846, and the form does not occur in any dated VIII century inscription. In the IX and X centuries it is common and widely distributed.

D. Triangular shaped D with the apex at the bottom is found only in VIII century Rome; with the apex at the top only in popular inscriptions of the VIII century and style II, and in No. 105. Uncial D open at the top, popular style only (Nos. 14, 56, 117); closed only after 800 in Nos. 68, 151, 154, 158; with projecting stem Lombard only.

E. Uncial; throughout the period, in almost every group. With projecting stem; popular and Lombard only.

[65] N. Gray, 'Dark Age Figure Sculpture in Italy,' *Burlington Magazine*, Nov. 1935.

[66] Bertaux, 251.

[67] Haseloff, pl. 67; M. T. Tozzi, 'Di Alcune Sculture medioevali della Compania', *Boll. d'Arte*, 1931, 272.

[68] Toesca, I, 435.

F. With projecting stem; Lombard; popular, Nos. 18 and 30; 32, 43, 46 and No. 125. Horizontal projection of arm is very rare (Nos. 50, 117). Sloping arms also are rare (No. 53).

G. G is the letter with most variants. Peculiar to its group is the detached-spur form of VIII century and style II popular inscriptions. Square G occurs only in Nos. 79 and X century inscriptions. The late South Italian curve, e.g., No. 135, occurs elsewhere only in No. 158. G with vertical spur projecting above and below the bowl is peculiar to VIII century Rome.

H. Uncial H does not seem to occur after 900. Before that in popular and South Italian inscriptions only.

L. With projecting stem Lombard and popular only, not after *c.* 830 (No. 110).

M. Uncial M, popular and S. Italian only.

N. With stems projecting above the cross-bar recurs throughout the period.

O. Pear-shaped is peculiar to Lombard inscriptions. Smaller than the other letters is peculiar to popular styles and No. 35. With bulges in the top or sides to late S. Italian inscriptions.

P. P with an open bowl occurs throughout the period in almost every group except those of S. Italy. With projecting stem in popular only, not in Lombard inscriptions. **Ꝑ.** Not found before 800 (undated Nos. 47, 49).

Q. There is a great variety of Q forms, widely distributed. More than one form is used in all the non-classical groups.

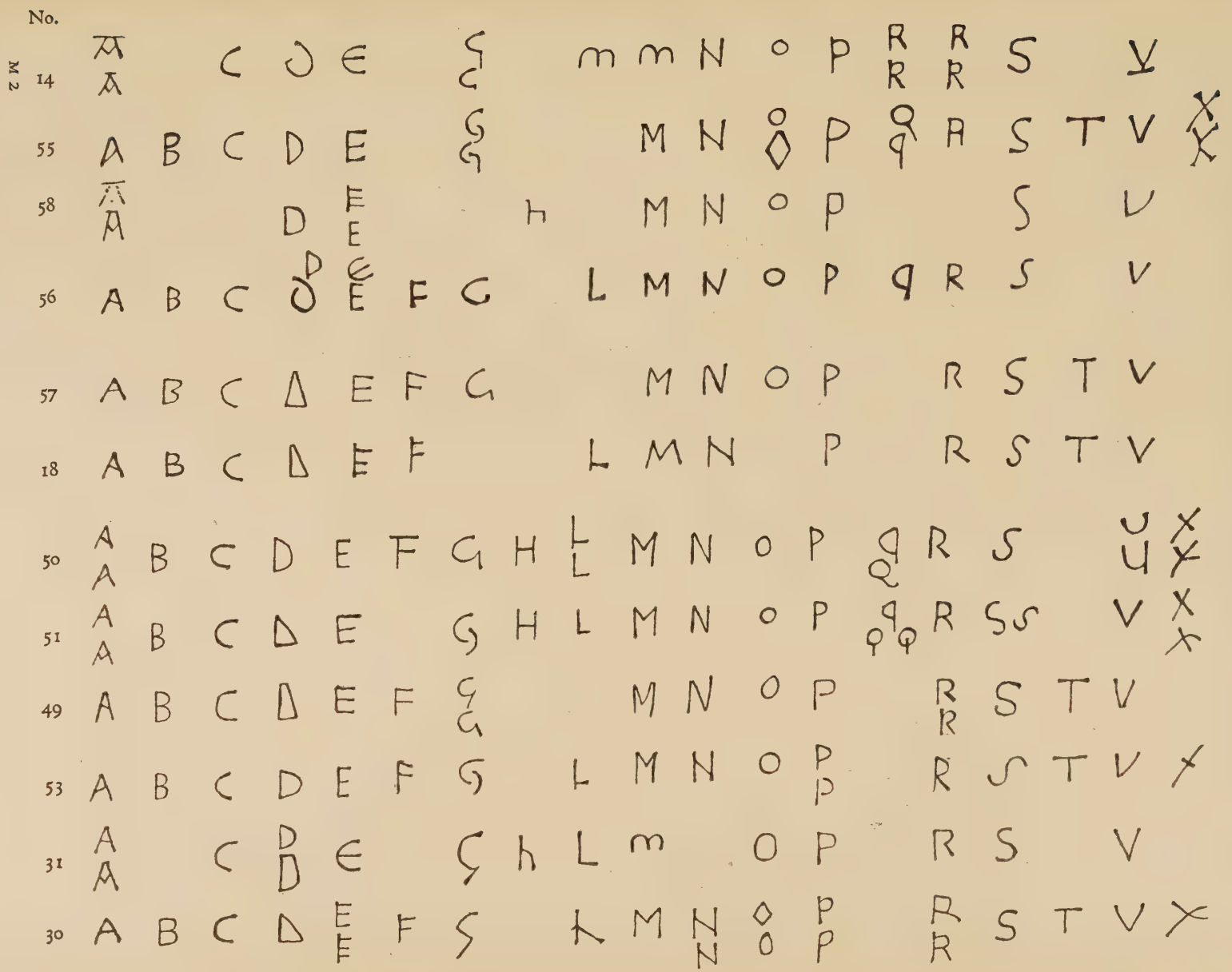
R. There is a great variety of R's, which are not easily classified. The projecting stem is found only in Lombard and popular examples.

S. Tilted S is typically popular. It also occurs in Lombard examples Nos. 26, 27, 37, 38 and 101 and 109.

U. Uncial U occurs in Nos. 50, 100, 111, 116, 153 and at Benevento and in S. Italy. The V form ends in a point or a flat bottom or double serif, sometimes prolonged into a stem.

K and **Y** occur.

CHART OF THE LETTER FORMS USED IN 'POPULAR' INSCRIPTIONS



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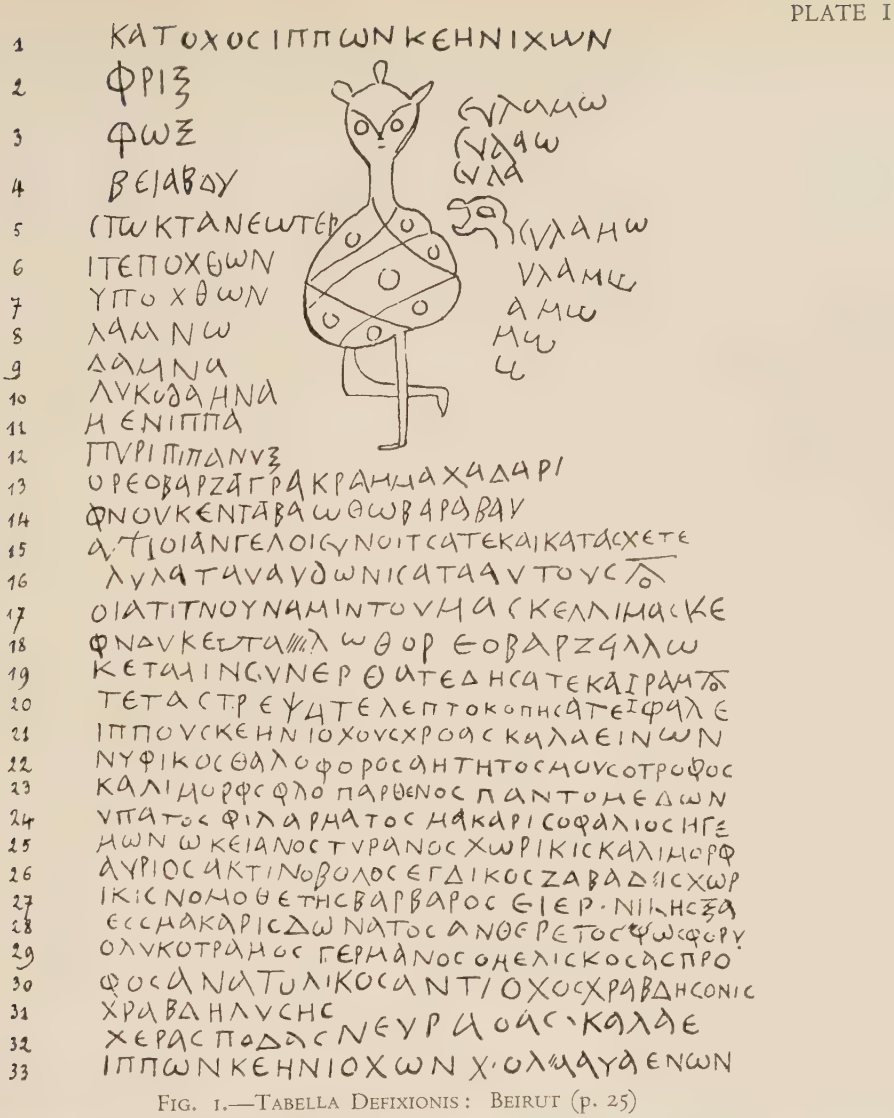
UNIV.



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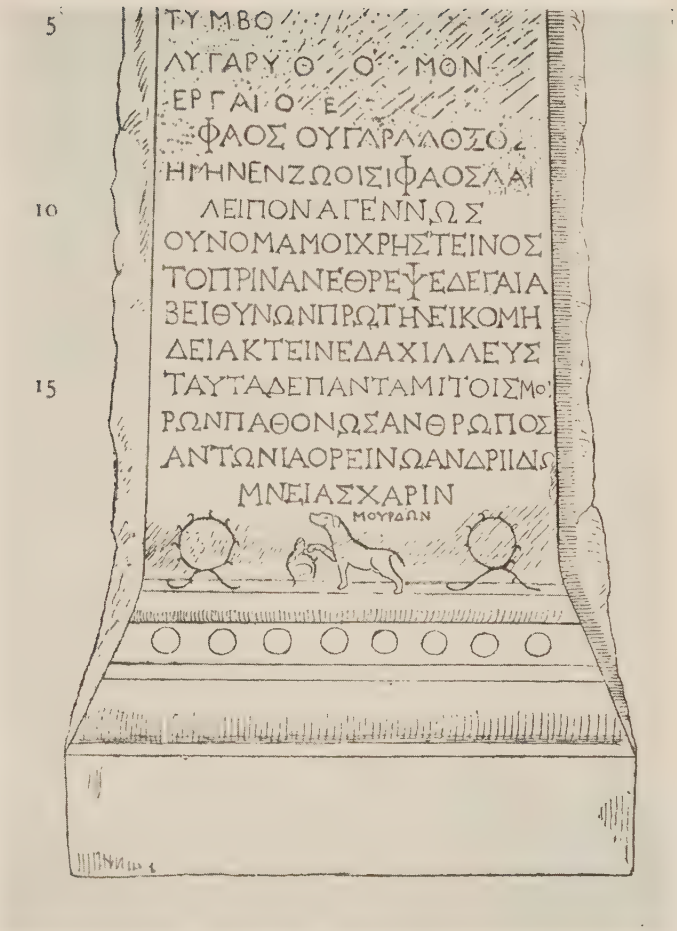

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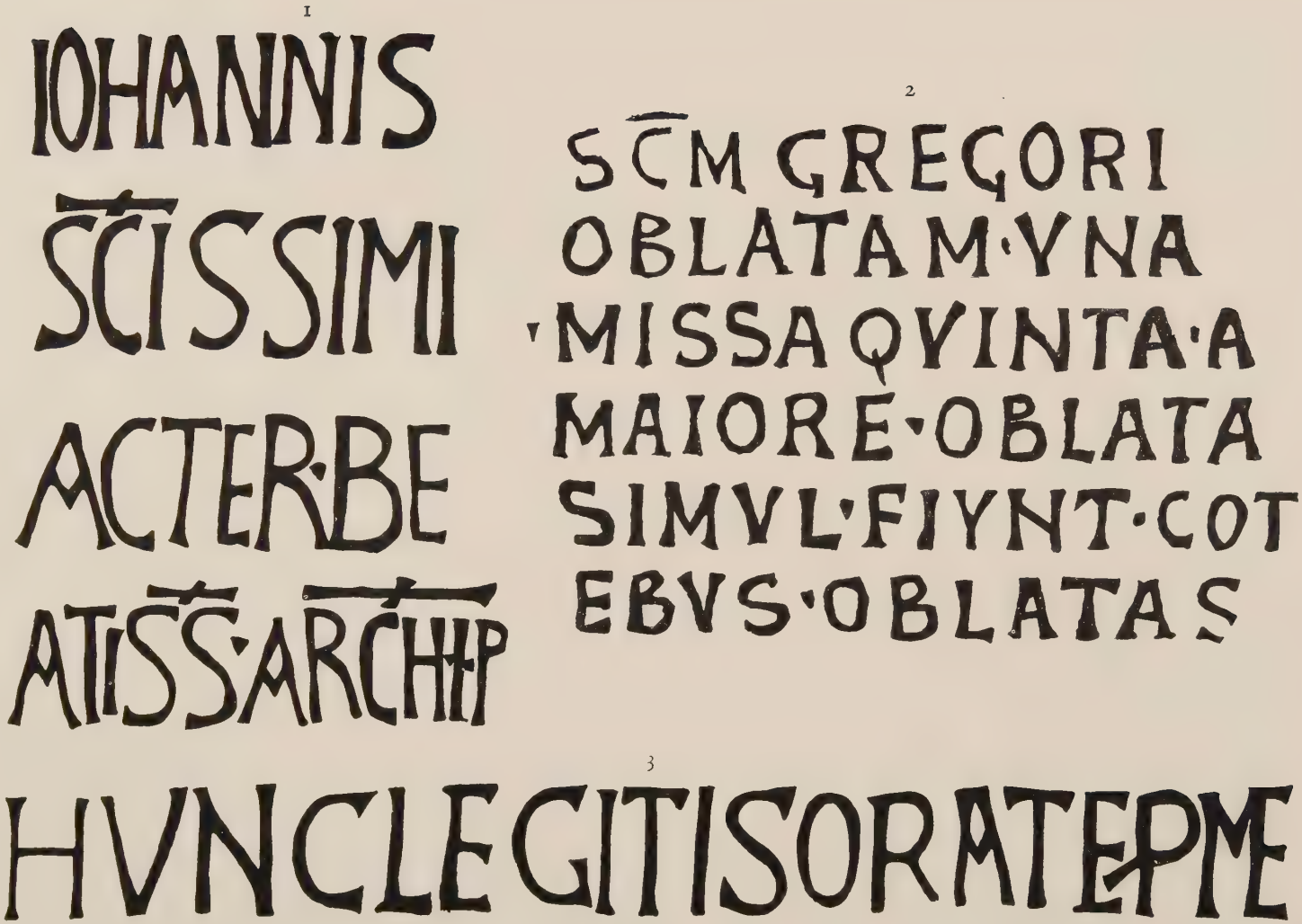
Reproduction, Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripolitania.

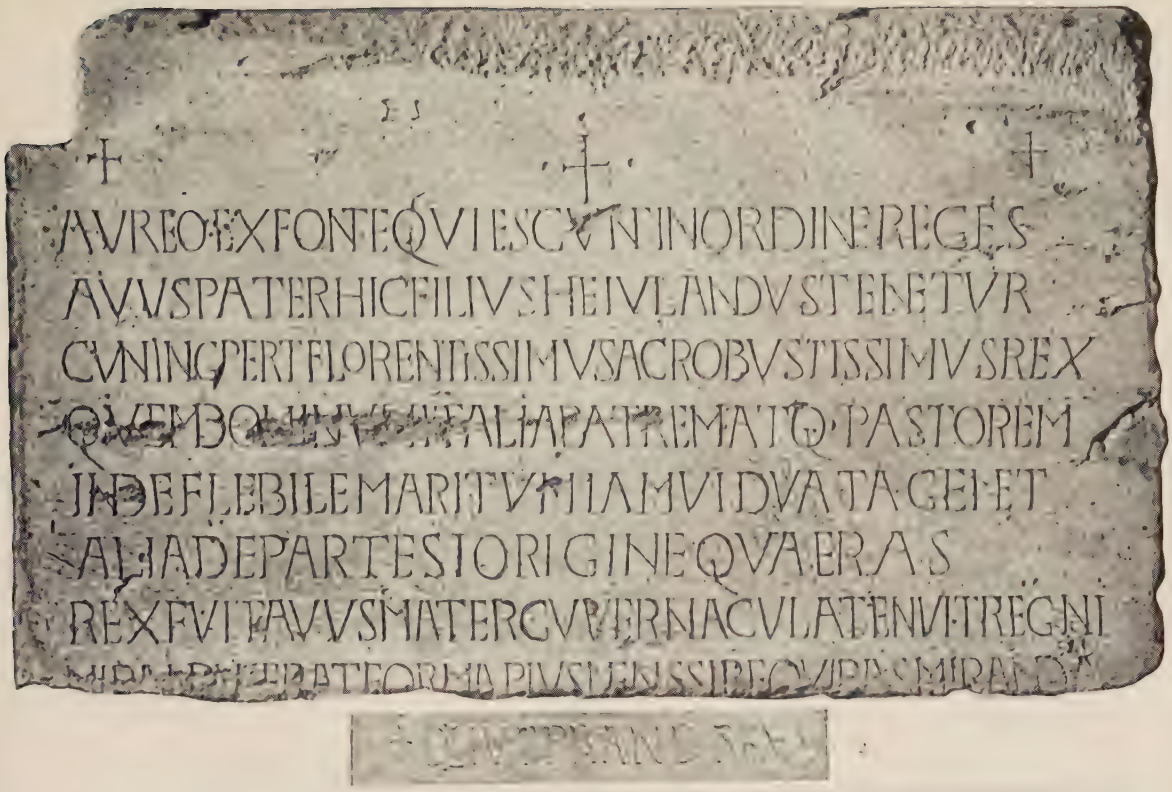


VIII and IX Century Inscriptions. 1. Panel of No. 21. 2. Part of No. 5. 3. Part of No. 104.

Reduced ¼.

From author's squeezes.

PLATE XII

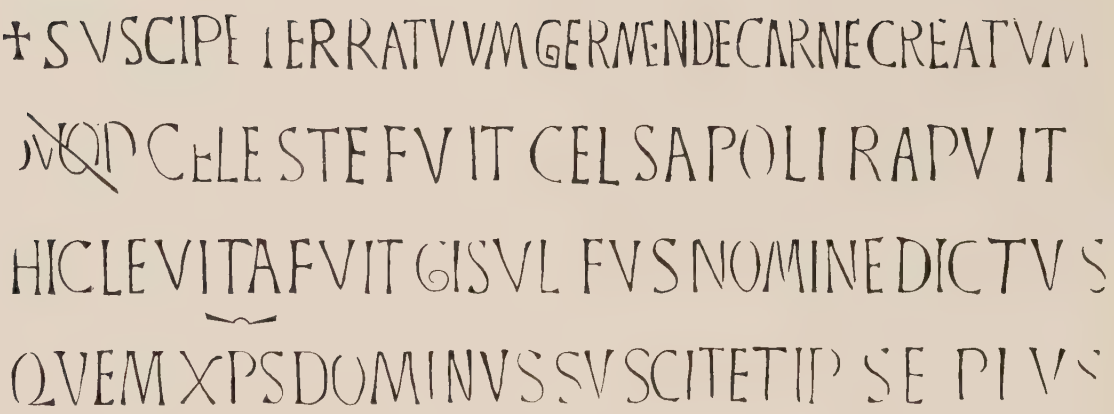

AVREO EX FONTE QVIESCVNT IN ORDINE REGES
AVVS PATER HIC FILIVS HEIVLANDVS TENETVR
CVNING PERT FLORENTISSIMVS ACROBVSTISSIMVS REX
IN DE FLEBILE MARITVM IAM VIDVA TAGE ET
ALIA DE PARTE STIRPE ORIGINE QVA ERAS
REX FVIT AVVS MATER CVI VERNA CVLA TENVIT REGNI

DISCE QVIS ESSE QVID EGIT
HIC ADINSTAR NIVIS MEMBRA SOLVANTVR
CVM HIC PER CAEMATRIS DEI ANCILLARIS
HAC FVIT SPECIE PVLCRA SINE REGINA SPVLCRA
HVIVS LVC
FRONTE NVBIS INSCIA ABIIT
CVTVS IN SE

VIII Century Inscriptions. 1. No. 23. 2. No. 34. 3. No. 45.
Reduced *c.* $\frac{9}{15}$. Reduced *c.* $\frac{1}{9}$. Reduced *c.* $\frac{1}{8}$.

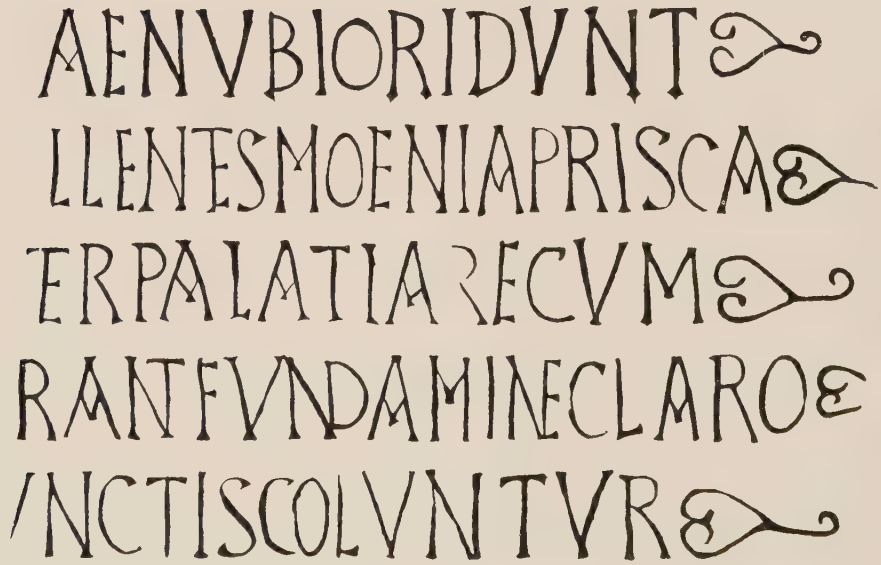
1 and 3. *Photographs Silvagni*; 4. *From author's squeeze.*

1


SVSCIPE TERRATVVM GERMEN DE CARNE CREATVM
CELESTE FVIT CEL SA POLI RAPVIT
HIC LEVITA FVIT GISVL FVS NOMINE DICTVS
QVEM XPS DOMINVS SVSCITE TIP SE PIVS

2

3



4

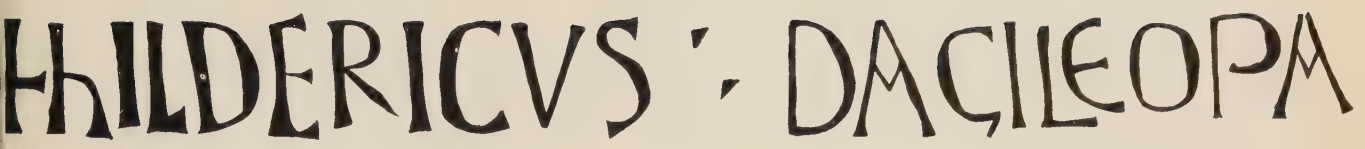
VIII Century Inscriptions.

1. No. 40. 2. Part of No. 27. 3. Part of No. 43. 4. Part of No. 38 (something of the precision of the original is lost by reduction).

Reduced $\frac{1}{4}$.

From author's squeezes.

1a



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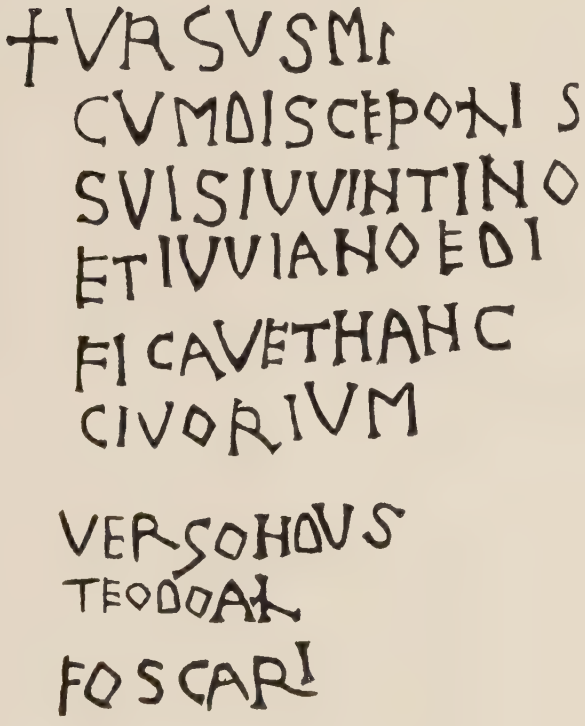

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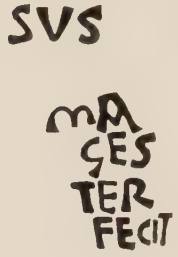
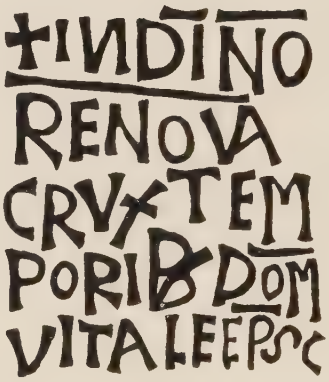
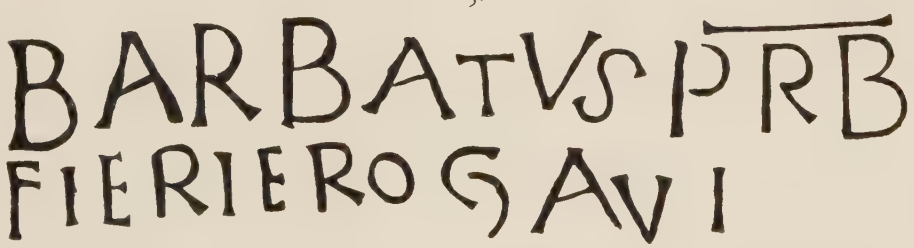


3a



3b

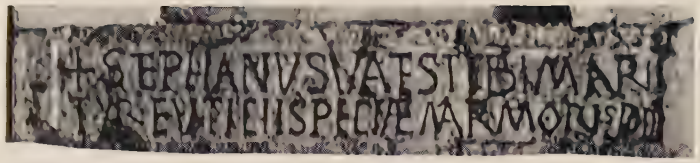


VIII Century Inscriptions.

1a and b. Parts of No. 31. 2. No. 30: column C. 3a and b. No. 53.

Reduced ¼.

From author's squeezes.



1

2

+ET SANGVINEM SCI SEBA + ET RLIQVIES CI QVADRAG
STIANI MAR ET RELIQVIE SCI A BVNDIMA
+HIC RE CONDITVM EST CAPVT S SAVINI
SPOLITINI EP ET MART ET COSTA SCE SAE

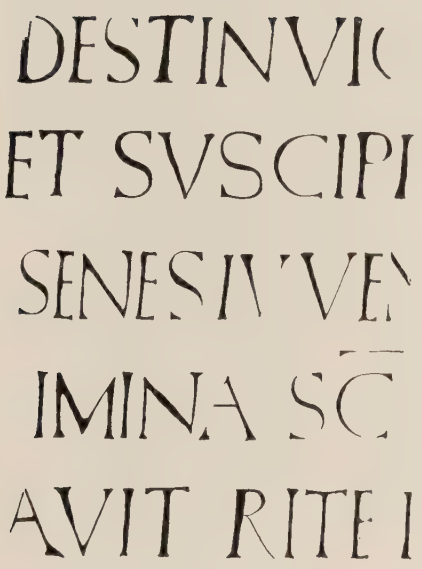
3

PLATE XVIII

IX CENTURY INSCRIPTIONS. 1. No. 98. 2. No. 89. 3. No. 108.

Photographs 1 *and* 2. *E. K. Waterhouse;* 3. *Silvagni.*

1



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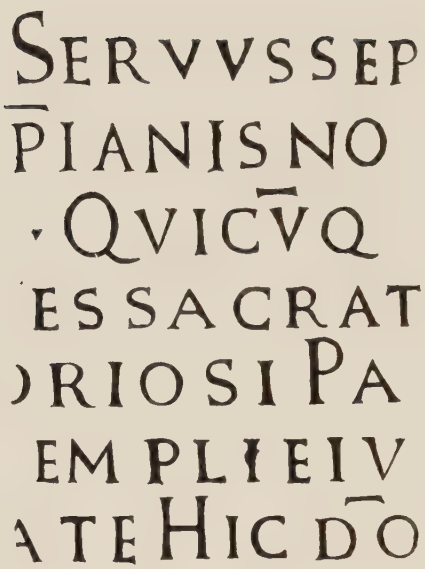
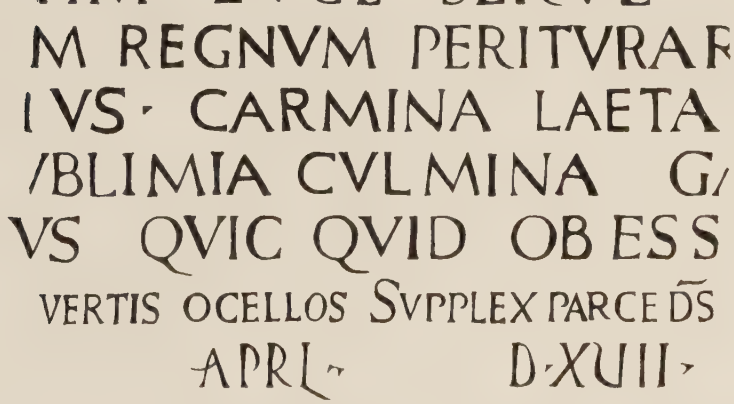


3

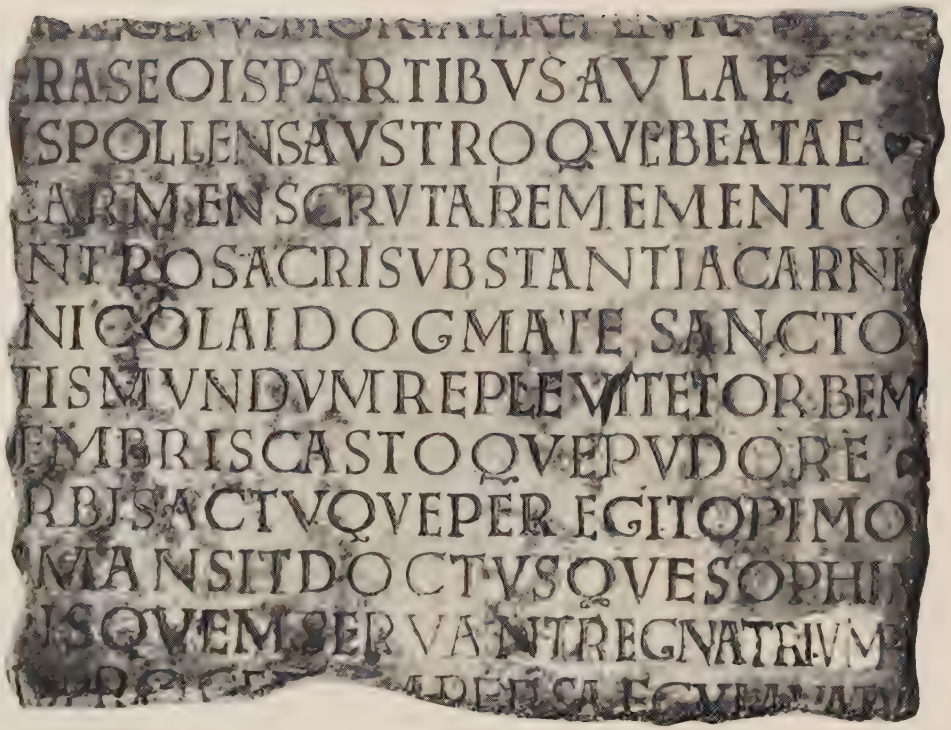


VIII and IX Century Inscriptions.

1. Part of No. 84. 2. Part of No. 42. 3. Part of No. 86.

Reduced $\frac{1}{8}$.

From squeezes taken by author or Mr. Basil Gray.



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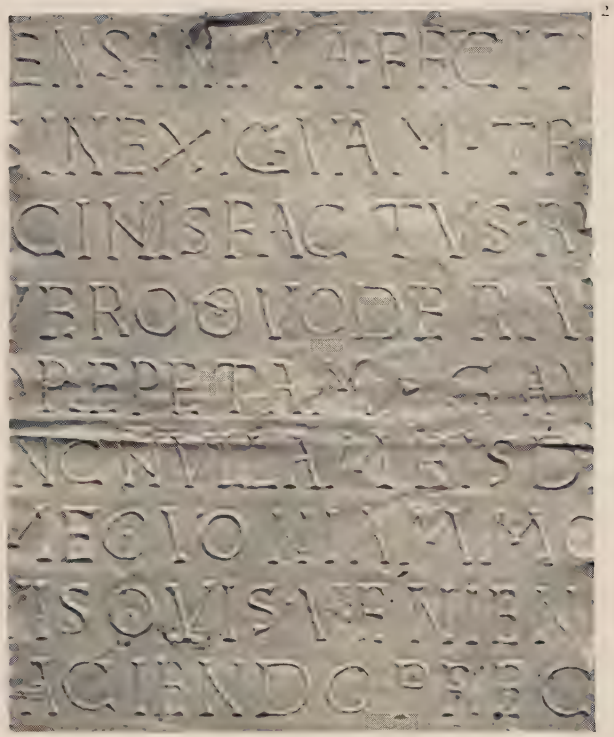

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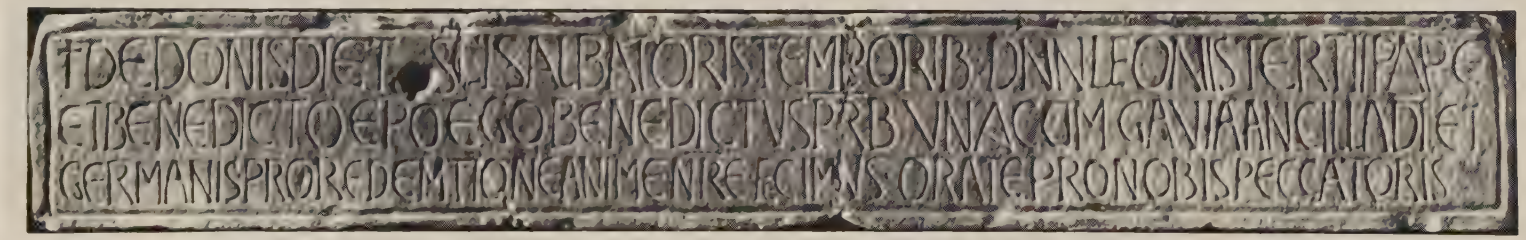


3

VIII–X Century Inscriptions. 1. No. 82. 2. Part of No. 159. 3. No. 100.

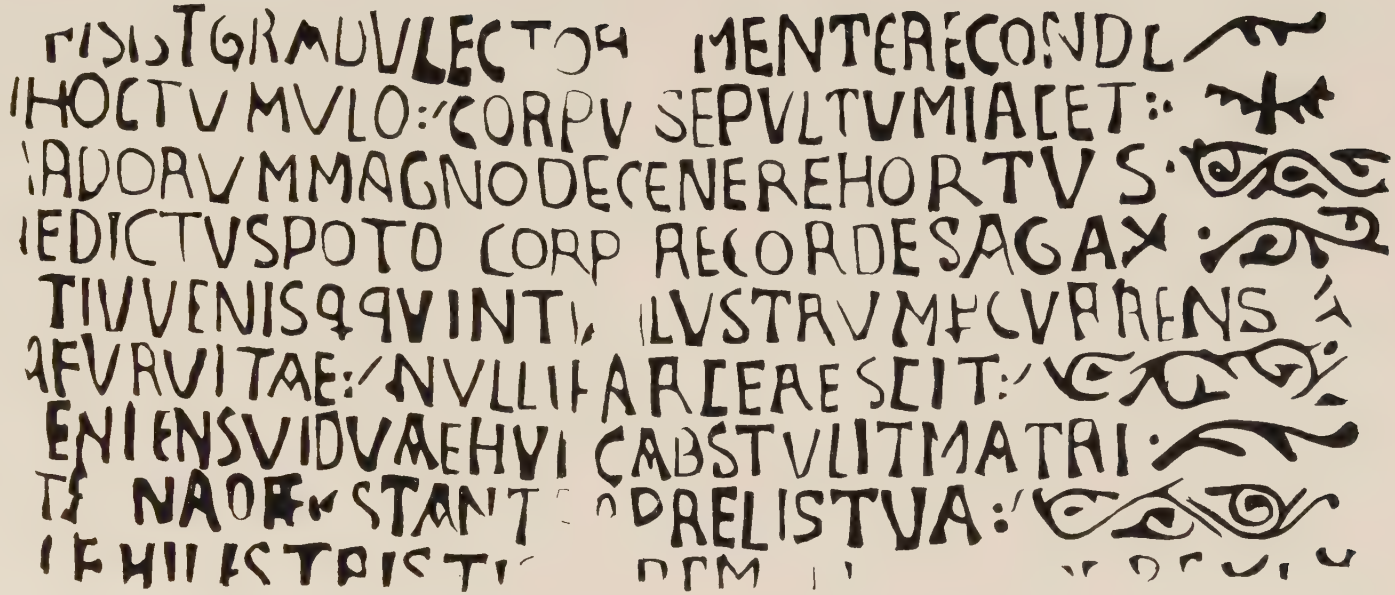
Reduced *c.* $\frac{1}{8}$. Reduced *c.* $\frac{1}{6}$. Reduced *c.* $\frac{1}{6}$.

1. *Photograph Silvagni;* 2. *From author's squeeze;* 3. *Photograph Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.*

1a

1b

2



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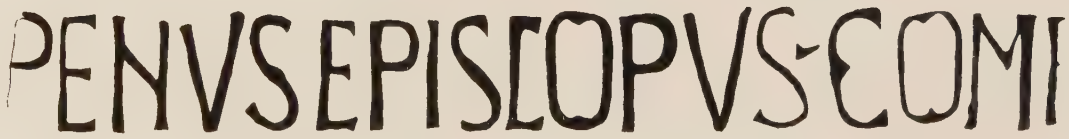


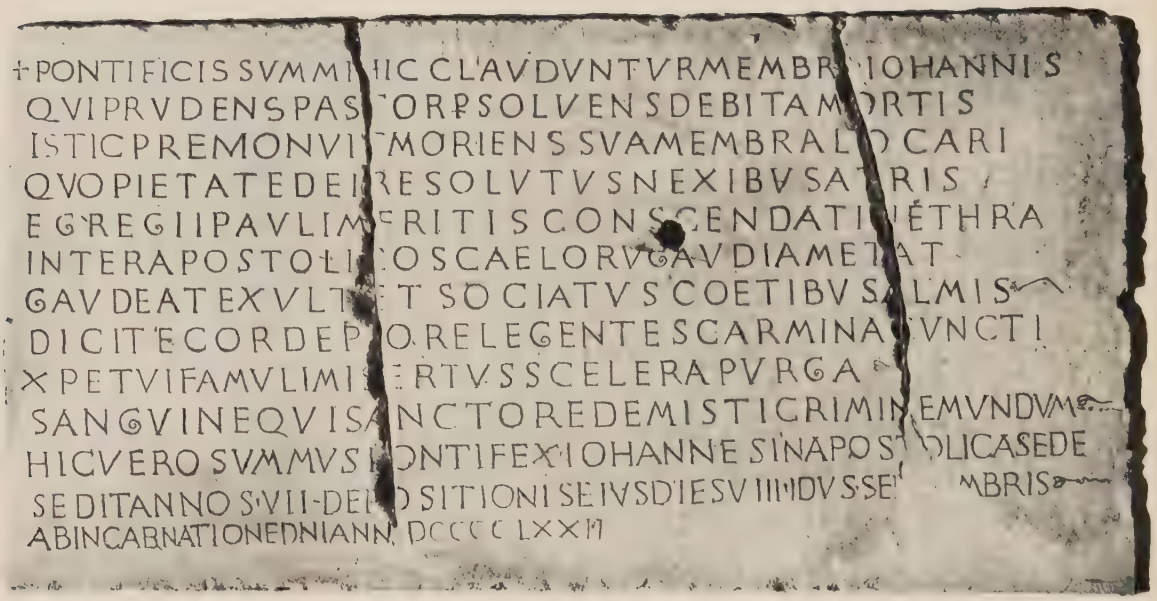
IX Century Inscriptions. 1. No. 126. 2. No. 125. 3. Part of No. 128.

Reduced $\frac{1}{4}$.

From author's squeezes.

PLATE XXI

1



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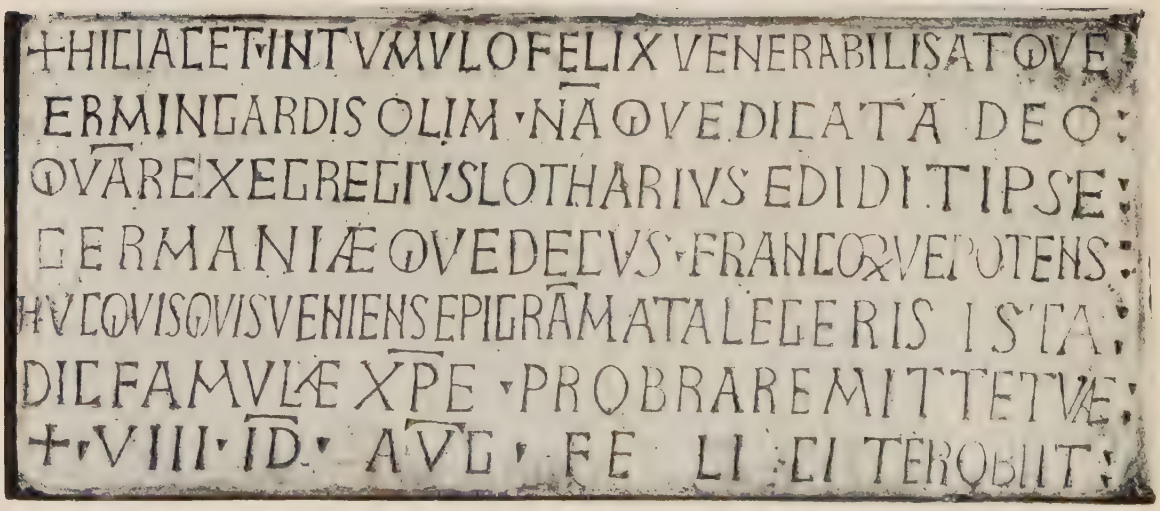

+HIC IACET IN TVMVLO FELIX VENERABILIS ATQVE
ERMINGARDIS OLIM NĀ QVE DICATA DEO:
QVAE REX EGREGIVS LOTHARIVS EDIDIT IPSE:
GERMANIÆ QVE DECVS FRANCO QVE POTENS:
HVIC QVISQVIS VENIENS EPIGRĀMATA LEGERIS ISTA:
DIC FAMVLÆ XPE PROBRARE MITTE TVÆ:
+ VIII ID AVG FE LI CI TER OBIIT:

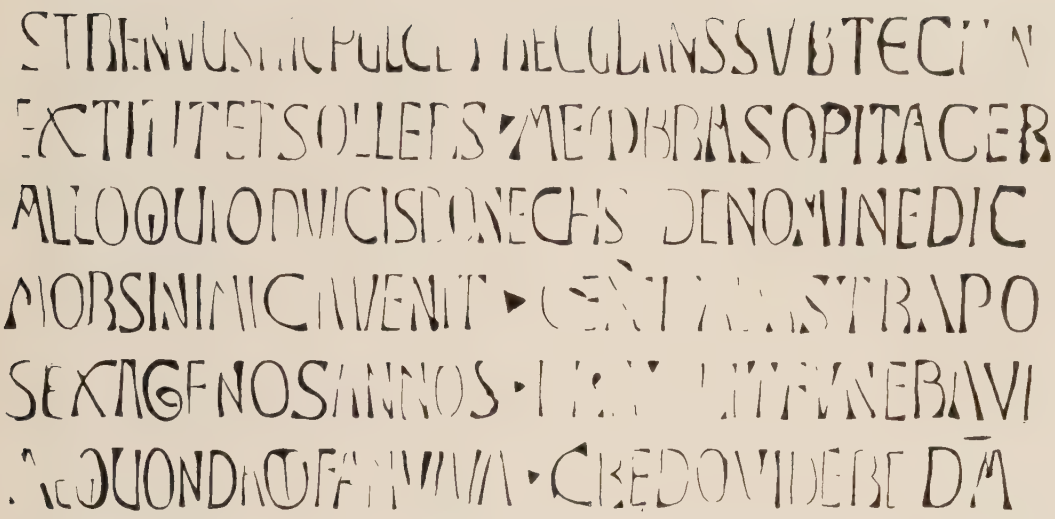
X Century Inscriptions.

1. No. 144. Reduced *c.* $\frac{1}{15}$.

2. No. 161. Reduced *c.* $\frac{1}{10}$.

Photographs Silvagni.

1



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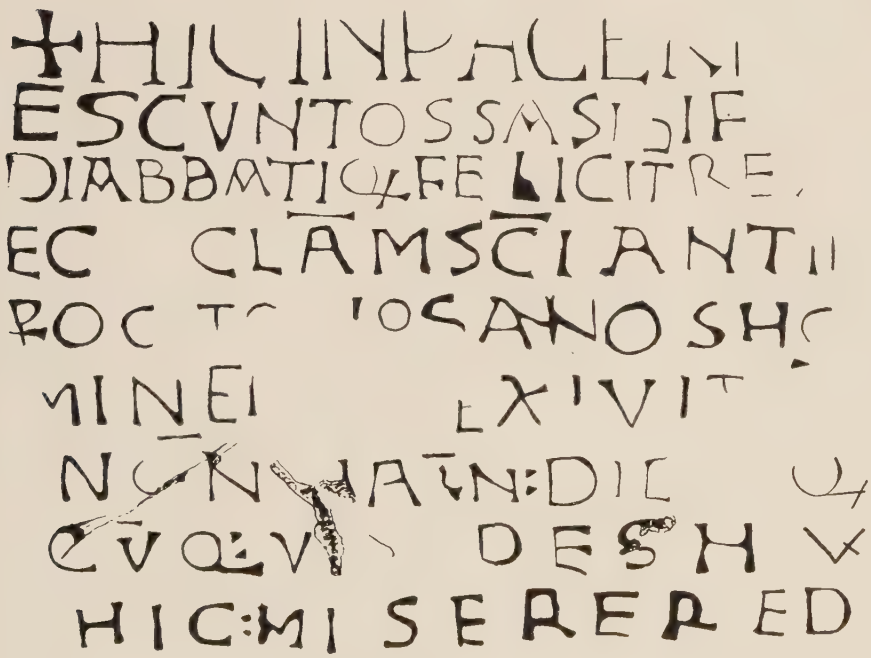


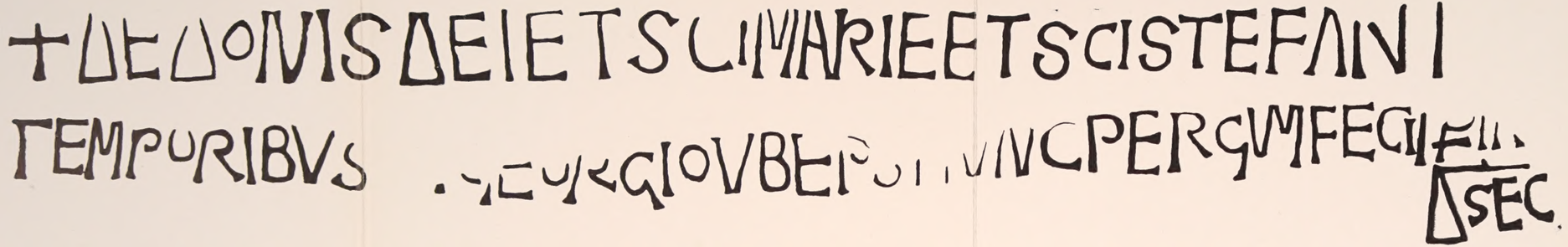
IX and X Century Inscriptions.

1. No. 130. 2. No. 113.

Reduced $\frac{1}{8}$.

From author's squeezes.

1



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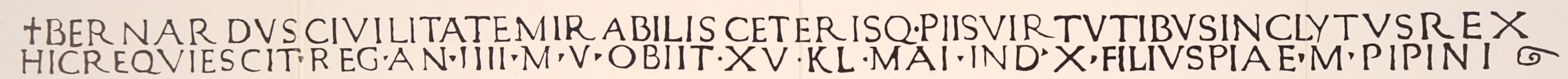

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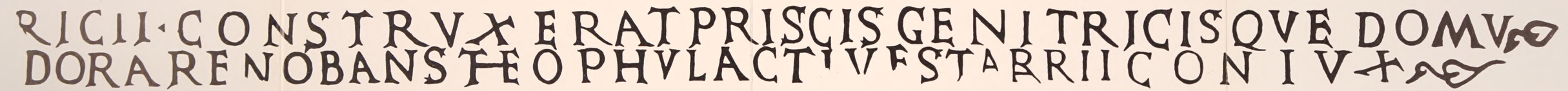
4



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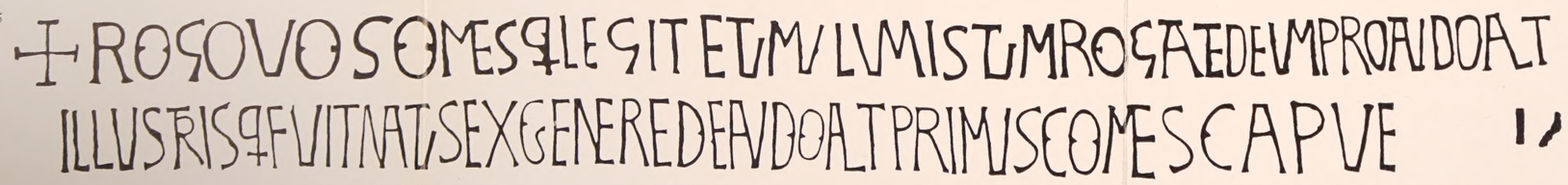

1. No. 49 (VIII Century). 2. No. 60 (IX Century). 3. No. 77 (IX Century). (Something of the delicacy of the original is lost in the line block.) 4. No. 140 (X Century). 5. No. 134 (X Century).

1, 2, 3 and 4, reduced ¼: 5, reduced ⅓.

From author's squeezes.